

*A grammar of Gayo:
a language of Aceh, Sumatra*

Pacific Linguistics

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A grammar of Gayo: a language of Aceh, Sumatra

Domenyk Eades



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for Ann Nee, Ilyas, Idris and Isa

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Preface

This grammar is a revised version of a PhD thesis conferred by the University of Melbourne in August 2003. The work is a description of Gayo, a Malayo-Polynesian language spoken in the central highlands of Aceh province, which is situated at the northern tip of Sumatra, Indonesia. It is based on a corpus of data collected mostly in the Gayo highlands in 1997–1998, and from a native speaker residing in Melbourne, Australia.

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Abbreviations and conventions

ADV	adverb	LOC2	local preposition <i>pədel/pada</i>
ADVERS	adversative	MID	middle affix
APP	apposition slot	M/BI	Malay / Bahasa Indonesia
AO	actor orientation	N	noun
BCKGR	backgrounding	NAS	nasal
CAUS1	causative suffix	NOM	nominaliser
CAUS2	causative prefix	NP	noun phrase
CLAR	clarification	N.SUBJ	non-subject
COMP	comparative	PAN	Proto Austronesian
CONT	continuous aspect	POSS	possessive
DC	decontrol	PP	prepositional phrase
DC.UO	decontrolled undergoer orientation	PREP	preposition
DES	descriptive slot	PROX	proximal location
DET	determiner slot	RECIP	reciprocal
DAT	dative	RED	reduplication
DIR	direction	REL	relative clause
EMPH	emphatic	RHET	rhetorical question particle
ENCOUR	encouragement	SOF	softening
EXCLAM	exclamatory	TAG	question tag
EXIST	existential	T.EXT	temporal extension
FACIL	facilitative	UNC	uncertainty
FOC	focus	UO	undergoer orientation (2/3 person actor)
FREQ	frequentative	UO.1	undergoer orientation (1 person actor)
HORT	hortatory	U.NOM	undergoer-oriented nominaliser
IMIT	imitative	V	verb
INSTR	instrumental	VOC	vocative
INT	interrogative	VI	intransitive verb
INTENS	intensive	VP	verb phrase
INTR	intransitive	VT	transitive verb
LOC	locative		

Pronouns are glossed as:

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
PL	plural
INCL	first person plural including second person
EXCL	first person plural excluding second person

Bracketing conventions are:

/.../	phonemic transcription
[...]	phonetic transcription
=	word boundary
-	morpheme boundary

Part I: Overview

1 *Introduction*

1.1 General background

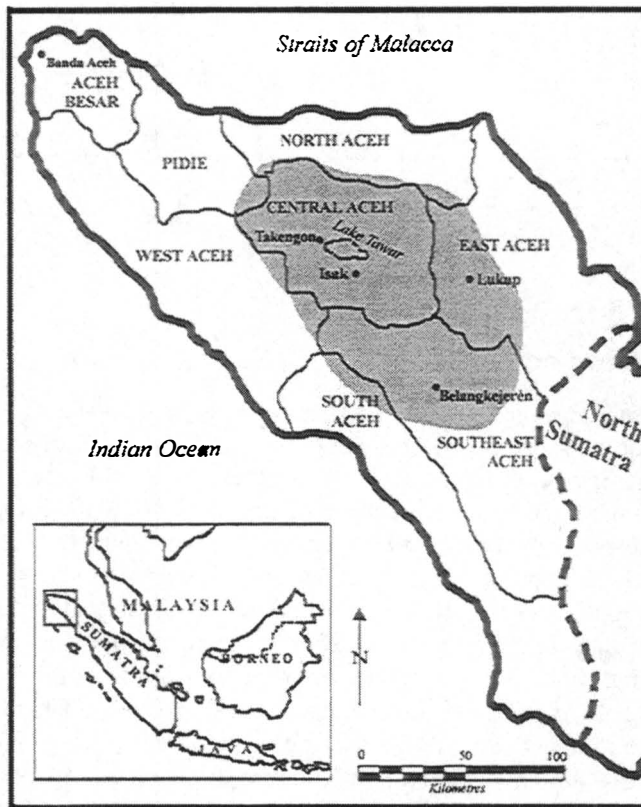
Gayo is a regional language of Indonesia spoken by an estimated 260,000¹ people living in the central highlands of *Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam*, formerly *Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh* 'The Special Province of Aceh' (henceforth: Aceh). Aceh is situated at the northern tip of Sumatra and has a population of around 4,000,000 (Bappeda 1999). The province is divided into eight *kabupaten* (regencies), in six of which the ethnic majority is Acehnese. The Gayo people form the second largest ethnic group in Aceh.

The Gayo homeland, referred to in Gayo as *Tanoh Gayô* 'Gayo land' or *Gayô*, is separated from the surrounding coastal regions of Aceh by the perimeter of the Bukit Barisan mountain range. The major ethnic group of the highlands refer to themselves as *urang Gayô* 'Gayo people', and their language as *basa Gayô* 'Gayo language'. Identifying oneself as Gayo is based on three criteria: having Gayo parents, being able to speak Gayo, and professing the Muslim faith. A child with one Gayo parent and whose first language is Gayo is also considered to be Gayo (Bowen 1991:18). The regency of Central Aceh is the most populous region in the Gayo highlands. In 1998 it had a population of 200,000 (Bappeda 1999). The main town in Central Aceh is Takengon, which lies on the west bank of Lake Tawar around 2000 meters above sea level. In 1998, the population of Takengon was 24,000 (Bappeda 1999). Takengon is the centre for trade and cultural life for the entire highland region. There are also Gayo-speaking districts in the neighbouring regencies of South-East Aceh (*Gayô Lues*) and East Aceh (*Gayô Serbejadi*). Mostly uninhabited mountains border the Gayo homeland. However, to the north and the east the Gayo are bordered by the Acehnese, who speak a Malayo-Polynesian language that is closely related to the Chamic languages of mainland South-East Asia (Durie 1990). To the south-east they are bordered by the Alas, who speak a language closely related to that of the Karo Bataks of the neighbouring province of North Sumatra. The Gayo, Acehnese, and Alas are all Muslim peoples.

Within the Gayo homeland itself there are many non-Gayo inhabitants, of mainly Javanese, Acehnese, Minangkabau and Chinese ethnicity. The non-Gayo population of the highlands is mainly concentrated in Takengon. The population outside of Takengon is mostly Gayo. However, forty kilometres south-west of the village of Isak is a

¹ This figure is based on 1998 census figures (Bappeda 1999). These figures were not analysed for ethnic or linguistic groups. As such, the present figure is an estimate based on the population figures of the Gayo-speaking districts in Aceh, and does not include Gayo speakers living outside the highlands.

transmigration site opened in 1981, populated by predominantly Javanese transmigrants brought to the region during the Suharto era.



Map 1-1: The Gayo highlands (shaded area) within Aceh

1.1.1 Genetic affiliation

Gayo belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian family of languages. Nothofer (1994) places Gayo along with Nias, Mentawai, Enggano, and the Batak languages, in a North-West Sumatra/Barrier Islands subgroup within Western Malayo-Polynesian. Some recent studies have questioned whether a 'Western Malayo-Polynesian' family of languages can be established, as the languages attributed to this family share only retentions and not innovations (Ross 1995; Blust 1999). Accordingly, Gayo is placed within the Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian. Shorto (1975:101, 1976:212) comments that a large proportion of Gayo vocabulary, around forty per cent in a lexicostatistical classification, is borrowed from Malay, which has entered Gayo via Acehnese as well as directly.

Malayo-Polynesian languages spoken in Taiwan, the Philippines, mainland South-East Asia, western Indonesia, and Madagascar share a number of distinctive typological characteristics such as voice, in contrast with Malayo-Polynesian languages to the east of Sulawesi. As such, it is useful to refer to these languages with the general cover term 'western Austronesian'. This term is used in this grammar in a strictly areal/typological sense (Himmelman 2002).

1.1.2 Economy of the Gayo Highlands

The economy of the Gayo region is primarily agricultural. The Gayo people engage in raising cattle and buffaloes and in small-scale farming of rice and cash crops such as coffee and patchouli. The cultivation of high-quality coffee in the region has meant that many Gayo enjoy a higher standard of living than the coastal Acehnese. Lake Tawar is renowned for its small minnow-like fish referred to by the Gayo as *depik*, which are unique to Lake Tawar. These fish are a staple in the diet of the Gayo people and are highly sought after outside the highland region. Government administration in the highland region is primarily the domain of the ethnic Gayo. Trading in manufactured goods and other non-agricultural produce, such as cloth and manufactured goods, is undertaken primarily by people of non-Gayo ethnicity.

1.1.3 Sociobistorical background

The earliest mention of the Gayo is in the fourteenth century Malay-language *Hikayat Raja Pasai* ('Chronicle of the Kings of Pasai') (Bowen 1991), which deals with the conversion to Islam of the king of Pasai in Eastern Aceh. The chronicle tells of his conversion and how some who did not wish to do the same moved away to the head of the Pasangan river, the current site of Takengon. These people then became known as the 'Gayo'. The origin of the name is unknown. The *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, as well as the *Hikayat Aceh* ('Chronicle of Aceh') written in the seventeenth century, are the only sources that mention the Gayo prior to the Aceh–Dutch war that began in the mid 1870s (Bowen 1991). Durie (1985) remarks that Acehnese oral traditions of Bireuen tell of Acehnese expansion into coastal areas once inhabited by the Gayo.

The Gayo were incorporated into the kingdom of the Acehnese sultan Iskandar Muda (r. 1607–36) and subsequently converted to Islam (Bowen 1991). The Gayo traditionally divided their region into *kerējen* 'kingdoms', headed by *rēje* 'kings, domain lords', who gained their authority from the sultan of Aceh in return for tribute. These *rēje* traditionally governed four traditional districts in Central Aceh: *Cik*, *Bukit*, *Linge* and *Siah Utama*. Later these became six districts, after two *rēje* formed their own separate domains within the existing ones. These were the regions of *Gayō Serbejadi* in East Aceh (also referred to as *Kejurun Abuk*) and *Petiamang* in South-East Aceh. All land inhabited by Gayo people fell within these domains. The part of South-East Aceh that is inhabited by the Alas people fell under the jurisdiction of the Gayo kingdom of *Petiamang*. The Alas are often referred to as *Gayō Alas*, a legacy of their political ties to the kingdom of *Petiamang*.

The relationship between the Gayo and the Acehnese reached a peak during the Aceh–Dutch war, which began in the 1870s. The highlands served as a base for the Gayo and Acehnese troops, who fought side by side under the command of the sultan of Aceh. There was much intermixing between the Gayo and the Acehnese during this period, and Islam was a common link between the two groups. Many Gayo went to the coastal areas to pursue trade and religious studies, and intermarriage between the two groups was common.

By the late 1920s new political ideas had a significant impact the Gayo highlands. A branch of Sukarno's Indonesian Nationalist Party was founded in Takengon, which brought along the introduction of new Indonesian nationalist literature and education (Bowen 1991). Another major development at this time was the introduction of the Islamic modernist movement Muhammadiyah to the region. This organisation was based in Java and introduced a more progressive view of Islam, which in a number of ways challenged the

traditional religious practices of the Gayo. While the neighbouring Acehnese remained more attached to their own organisations, the Gayo were more accepting of the new influences from Java. This signalled to some extent the loosening of ties between the Gayo and the Acehnese. The two years of Japanese occupation of Indonesia during the Second World War meant the end of Dutch control of Aceh. Although the Dutch reoccupied most of their old colony after the war, they were unwilling to face the fierce resistance they had encountered in Aceh, and Aceh was never reoccupied. After the Indonesian declaration of independence in 1947, Aceh was incorporated as a province into the Republic of Indonesia. All of the Gayo region currently falls within the borders of the province of Aceh.

1.1.4 Gayo social structure

Gayo people mostly live in small isolated villages. Like the Bataks and unlike the Acehnese, the Gayo are organised into clans (*belah*). Marriages are exogamous, i.e. marriage must be outside of one's own clan. Each clan is associated with a particular geographic location. For example, a small section of the village of Kebayakan is referred to as *Gunung*, after the name of the clan that resides there. A single clan may, however, be associated with more than one place. For example, there are families from the *Melala* clan who have traditionally resided in the village of Kemili, as well as other families of the *Melala* clan whose traditional land is in the village of Bebesen. The two geographically separated groups view themselves as belonging to the same clan, and thus are forbidden from marrying from amongst one another. Examples of clan names are *Keramil* and *Gading* in Isak, and *Munté*, *Cebero*, and *Lingga* in the Lake District. For a more detailed description of Gayo history and ethnography the reader is referred to Bowen (1991, 1993).

1.1.5 Language and literacy in Gayo society

The Gayo language has long coexisted alongside a number of other languages, with each language having its own place and function in the day-to-day life of the Gayo people. The language world of the Gayo can be described as consisting of 'layers' (see Durie 1996 for the Acehnese), with the innermost layer represented by the language of the immediate community, and the outermost represented by the language of contact with the outside world. The innermost layer is represented by Gayo, the language of group-internal communication. The middle layer is occupied by Malay and its modern-day manifestation as Bahasa Indonesia, the language of public or external communication. Between Malay and Gayo could be added Acehnese, which was more important to the Gayo in the past than it is today. Arabic—the language of Islam and the wider Muslim world—represents the outermost layer. Each of these languages has traditionally played an important role within Gayo culture. The place of each language is described in turn in the following paragraphs.

The Gayo people use their own language among themselves in everyday communication. Although Gayo has no written literature, it has a rich oral tradition. The most popular oral literary genre is the *didong* poetic performance. *Didong* is memorised or spontaneous poetry that is sung or chanted, accompanied by others clapping and stamping out a beat. Subjects are wide-ranging, and often refer to everyday life in the village, reflections on religious issues, or Gayo traditions and histories. *Didong* performances have an important social function, and are often used to bring relevant social or political issues into the open. Skilled *didong* performers hold a special place in society, and are referred to as *céh* 'masters, experts'. *Didong* is a living art form, and is highly popular with young people.

Many Gayo youths belong to *didong* clubs, often performing in competitions against rival teams from other regions. Commercially produced cassette recordings of *didong* are very popular in the highlands. Also increasingly popular are recordings of more mainstream Indonesian and Western-influenced styles of music in the Gayo language.

Apart from the register used in poetry and song, there exists a special register referred to as *basa alus* 'refined language', which is also referred to as *basa tok* or *basa jëmen*² 'old language'. This is the language of traditional *ëdet* 'custom', and is characterised by a high proportion of words and phrases borrowed from Malay. Knowledge of *basa alus* is rare among the younger generation of Gayo, for whom the complex system of traditional cultural norms has lost much of its relevance. *Basa alus* is used nowadays by older people in ritual storytelling and *melëngkan* ('formal') speech. *Basa alus* is used in situations reflecting traditional concepts and vocabulary of the traditional (pre-Indonesian independence) economic and sociopolitical order.

Bahasa Indonesia, which is based on Malay, is the national language of Indonesia, and serves as the lingua franca of Indonesia's ethnically and linguistically diverse population. It is the language of prestige, as was Malay before independence. Most Gayo are fluent in the national language, which is used in education, the media, and inter-ethnic communication. The diverse ethnic mix within Takengon has meant that Bahasa Indonesia is the language most commonly used in the town. Outside of Takengon, where everyday life has not undergone any significant changes since the colonial days, the language of everyday communication is Gayo.

Historically, Malay was the language of the Acehneese sultanate, serving as the language of the royal courts, letters, legal documents, scholarship, education, and cross-group communication (Durie 1985, 1987). In the days before Indonesian independence, education for the Gayo meant pursuing studies in religious schools in the coastal regions. Accordingly, Malay was the language of literacy for the Gayo. Traditional literacy in the Malay-speaking world assumes literacy in Malay and Arabic. This form of literacy is still taught in the *dayah* or *pesantren* (traditional religious schools) in Aceh side by side with modern education. From early childhood, children are taught to recite the Qur'an. After learning Qur'an recitation, the next stage in attaining literacy is learning *Jawi*, that is Malay written in the Arabic script. In traditional society, the ability to read and write *Jawi* meant that a person was literate. Unlike the Acehneese, who traditionally employed *Jawi* as the language of written prose, the Gayo never used *Jawi* to write their own language. Literacy in the Gayo highlands has traditionally been restricted to *Jawi* (Malay) and Arabic recitation.

Although contact between the Gayo and other ethnic groups has been in Malay since the arrival of Islam into Aceh (c. 13th CE), the Acehneese language has also had a place in Gayo society since this time. Acehneese was known by the Gayo to some extent, and Acehneese poetry was popular among the Gayo, particularly during the period of resistance to the Dutch colonial occupation. It was at this time that Acehneese culture was at its most influential (Bowen 1991). Acehneese poetry, in particular *Hikayat Prang Sabi* ('The Chronicle of the Sanctified War'), was recited among both the Gayo and the Acehneese to instil courage to fight the Dutch. Much Acehneese poetry and song was performed and memorised by the Gayo at this time. This had an influence on their own language to some extent, particularly their forms of poetry. The decline of Acehneese political power has meant that nowadays Acehneese no longer occupies a significant place in the Gayo cultural

² *tok* < *datok* 'old person', *jëmen* 'era; olden days'.

sphere, while Bahasa Indonesia (Malay) and Arabic still do. As the language of Islam, Arabic is used in a variety of contexts, typically in religious ceremonies and the recitation of prayers.

1.2 Linguistic type

Gayo is a head-marking language, which features a moderate inventory of verbal and nominal prefixes, suffixes, infixes, and circumfixes. The language features three types of verbal affixes: voice affixes, valence-increasing affixes, and affixes that derive intransitive verbs. Such features are typical of Indonesian-type languages³ such as Balinese, Bahasa Indonesia, and the Batak languages.

Simple verbal clauses in Gayo consist of a VP and a syntactic subject NP (Kroeger 1993; Manning 1996), which is closely equivalent to the Tagalog ‘topic’. The notion of ‘predicate’ is used in this grammar to refer to the predication element of a clause, whether it is a verb, NP, or PP. In intransitive clauses, the predicate is represented by a single verb, or a verb and an incorporated noun. The subject in Gayo is a purely syntactically defined relation. It is represented by a bare NP. The canonical position of the subject is after its predicate, as in example (1-1a); but it can be fronted to pre-predicate position for discourse emphasis, as in example (1-1b):

- (1-1) a. *R[em]alan wè.*
 INTR-walk 3
 PREDICATE SUBJECT
 ‘He is walking.’
- b. *Wè r[em]alan.*
 3 INTR-walk
 SUBJECT PREDICATE
 ‘He is walking.’

Transitive clauses consist of a subject argument and a VP that contains a predication verb marked by one of three voice prefixes as well as a non-subject NP. Example (1-2) contains an undergoer-oriented predicate, (1-3) an actor-oriented predicate, and (1-4) a decontrol undergoer-oriented predicate. In undergoer-oriented and decontrol undergoer-oriented clauses the canonical position of the subject is following its predicate, although it can be fronted for discourse emphasis. Actor-oriented predicates are transitive or intransitive. Actor-oriented predicates can only be syntactically transitive, i.e. with an individuated undergoer that functions as a syntactic argument, in non-basic clauses. Transitive actor-oriented clauses can only be non-basic, i.e. where the subject is deleted for clause-combining or discourse purposes, or is in pre-predicate position.

- (1-2) *I-pangan ama dengké=a.*
UO-eat father meat=that
PREDICATE NON.SUBJECT SUBJECT
 VP NP
 ‘Father ate the meat.’

³ That is, Non-Philippine-type languages of western Austronesia (Himmelman 2002).

- (1-3) *Ama mumangan dengké=a.*
father AO:eat meat=that
SUBJECT PREDICATE NON.SUBJECT
 NP VP
 'Father ate the meat.'
- (1-4) *Te-pangan ama dengké=a.*
DC.UO-eat father meat=that
PREDICATE NON.SUBJECT SUBJECT
 VP NP
 'Father accidentally ate the (i.e. wrong) meat.'

Actor-oriented predicates are typically intransitive, referring to deliberate, dynamic actions. They contain either no overt undergoer or a non-individuated undergoer expressed as an incorporated noun (non-argument), as in example (1-5):

- (1-5) *Mangan penan kite.*
AO:eat cake we.INCL
PREDICATE SUBJECT
 VP NP
 'We are eating cakes.'

Gayo features a range of prepositions that mark oblique (dative) arguments and adjuncts. Most nominal modifiers follow their heads except for certain kinds of measure phrases. Possession is expressed with pronominal clitics, e.g. *umah=ku* 'my house' (house=1.POSS); and nouns that are marked by the possessive preposition *ni*, e.g. *umah ni ama* 'father's house (house POSS father)'.

There are two major word classes in Gayo: noun and verb; and there are a number of minor word classes such as preposition, adverb, and quantifier. There is no separate class of adjectives; words denoting adjectival meanings are represented by a subclass of intransitive verbs. Nouns in Gayo are distinguished from verbs by the fact that they can function as arguments of verbal predicates on their own, and can function as the complement of a preposition. Nouns are not inflected for number, plurality or definiteness, nor is there any copular verb that marks non-verbal predicates. Nouns are mostly unaffixed roots, although there are five nominalising affixes that derive nouns from verbs and other nouns. Verbs, in contrast, cannot function as arguments of verbal predicates without morphological derivation.

As is typical of Austronesian languages generally, the notion of 'root' is important in describing Gayo verbs. Gayo verbs are of two types: free verb roots (which function as predicates without affixation), and bound verb roots (which require affixation in order to function as predicates). All verb roots can be used in their unaffixed form in a verbal nominalisation (by zero derivation). Unlike noun roots, verb roots cannot function as NPs on their own. Verbal nominalisations are NPs headed by a verb root, followed by a possessive phrase that refers to a participant in the state of affairs described by the verb. All free verb roots are intransitive, and specify stative and resultative meanings. Bound verb roots can function as predicates only when they bear an affix. Many intransitive roots and all transitive roots are bound, and denote actions.

Each verbal root has a corresponding noun, which is used in verbal nominalisations. Nominalisations involve a verb root functioning as the head of a complex NP. The single participant within the state of affairs is expressed as a possessive phrase. For example, in

(1-6), the stative verb *hèk* 'tired' functions as a predicate. In (1-7), the same form functions as the head of an NP, and has nominal reference, meaning 'effort, hard work':

- (1-6) *Nge hèk aku.*
already tired 1
'I am tired.'

- (1-7) [*Hèk ni abang*], *ara hasil=é.*
tired POSS older.brother EXIST result=3.POSS
'As for older brother's effort (lit. 'tiredness'), it paid off.'

Bound roots are typically unaffixed in nominalisations, although in some cases they bear the affix they most commonly occur with when they function as predicates. In example (1-8), the verb *mumongot* 'weep' functions as a predicate, taking the actor prefix *mun-*; while in (1-9), the root functions as the head of an NP, and is unaffixed:

- (1-8) *Inen Maskerning pè mumongot.*
Inen Maskerning also/even AO:weep
'Inen Maskerning was weeping.' (IK:159)

- (1-9) *Pengè-n [pongot ni Inen Maskerning so]!*
(UO-)hear-CAUS1 weep POSS Inen Maskerning yon
'Listen to Inen Maskerning's weeping!' (IK:160)

Due to similar facts in related languages, some linguists have analysed bound verb roots as precategorial (e.g. Artawa 1998; Foley 1998). Verhaar (1984) characterises precategorial roots in Bahasa Indonesia as bound roots from which items belonging to different lexical or syntactic categories (nouns and verbs, for example) can be derived without one derivation being more basic than the other. Bound roots in Gayo, however, are not precategorial. Although bound roots in Gayo undergo affixation before they can be realised as predicates, these roots can be considered to belong to the major category of verbs on the basis of their behaviour with affixation (Himmelman forthcoming). There is no rule that treats bound roots differently from free verb roots in their behaviour with affixes; verbal affixes convey markedly different meanings on nominal roots than they do on verbal roots. Certain verbal affixes differ in their allomorphic behaviour depending on the category of the root to which they are attached, and nominalised bound roots can retain an intransitive verbal affix when they function as the heads of NPs, while free roots cannot. These facts imply that the lexical entries of Gayo roots must include information about their basic category (N, V). The fact that all Gayo roots have nominal reference when unaffixed does not mean that roots belong to a single nominal-type class. Himmelman (forthcoming) has described similar facts in Tagalog. Unlike nouns, which can function as NPs on their own, verbal roots in Gayo can have nominal reference only when they occur within a specific type of NP, i.e. that which contains a modifying possessive phrase.

Verbs in intransitive clauses are unaffixed or affixed. Verbs that denote states or resultative states of affairs are unaffixed, i.e. they are represented by free verb roots, as exemplified in (1-10) and (1-11) respectively:

- (1-10) *Sakét pedih aku.*
sick very 1
'I'm very sick.'

- (1-11) *Nge sawah wè.*
 already arrive 3
 'He has arrived.'

Affixed intransitive verbs typically, although not exclusively, specify eventive meanings. There are three types of verbal affixes in Gayo: (i) intransitive verbal affixes; (ii) voice affixes and (iii) valence-increasing affixes. The verbal affixes are described in turn in the following.

(i) There are seven intransitive affixes in Gayo, each of which specifies semantic information about the state of affairs described by the verb. The intransitive affixes derive verbs from nouns or other verbs. They are listed in Table 1-1.

Table 1-1: Intransitive verbal affixes

<i>mun-</i>	actor prefix (intransitive clauses)
<i>ber-</i>	middle prefix
<i>ber-...-(n)en</i>	middle plural circumfix
<i>mu-/em-</i>	intransitive prefix/infix
<i>per-</i>	temporal extension prefix
<i>bersi-...-(n)en</i>	reciprocal circumfix
<i>ke-...-(n)en</i>	adversative circumfix

Examples (1-12) and (1-13) contain verbs prefixed by the 'middle' prefix *ber-* and the intransitive prefix *mu-*. These prefixes are attached to bound verb roots in these examples:

- (1-12) *Pelanuk be-cerak ku Gajah.*
 mousedeer MID-talk to elephant
 'The mousedeer talked to the elephant.' (IK:149)
- (1-13) *Mu-tuh gelas=ku.*
 INTR-fall glass=1.POSS
 'My glass fell.' (i.e. 'I dropped my glass.')

All of the intransitive affixes can be productively attached to nouns to derive verbs, as demonstrated in examples (1-13) and (1-14):

- (1-14) *Bèwèn=é be-bulang.*
 all=3.POSS MID-hat
 'Everyone is wearing a hat.' (*bulang* 'hat' N)
- (1-15) *Aku gëre m-ama.*
 I not INTR-father
 'I don't have a father.' (*ama* 'father' N)

(ii) The second type of verbal affixes are those that have voice or 'orientation' (Himmelman 2002) functions. These prefixes attach to transitive verb roots, signalling the semantic macrorole (actor or undergoer) of the subject. The voice prefixes are given in Table 1-2.

Table 1-2: Voice prefixes

<i>i-</i>	undergoer orientation
<i>mun-</i>	actor orientation
<i>ter-</i>	decontrol undergoer orientation

The issue of voice and determinants of voice selection in western Austronesian has dominated discussion of these languages. There are considerable differences between voice systems in many of these languages and voice in European languages. The most significant difference is that voice is not defined as a valence-changing operation, as it is with active/passive or ergative/absolutive systems. In Gayo, neither the actor voice nor the undergoer voice can be considered the basic or unmarked alignment. In this sense the voice diathesis in this language can be considered to be in symmetrical opposition. Another difference concerns the issue of whether the morphology of these languages identifies a 'subject'. The properties traditionally associated with subjects, i.e. agentivity and autonomy from the VP, do not converge in a single relation, but are rather 'split' between the grammatical subject and the more agentive argument in a clause.

Such phenomena in other western Austronesian languages have meant that many linguistics have avoided referring to the morphosyntax of these languages as 'voice' systems. Linguists have employed other terms such as 'focus', a term that originates from the Philippinist tradition, and is used to refer to voice phenomena in western Austronesian languages in general (Himmelman 2002). The term was originally employed to highlight the exceptional nature of voice phenomena in the languages of the Philippines. However, the term 'focus' is used in this grammar in its general linguistic sense to refer to a pragmatic function, i.e. the phenomenon of highlighting new or contrastive information. As such, it is not employed in this grammar in the syntactic sense of referring to voice phenomena. Although the voice systems of western Austronesian differ in many ways from traditional notions of voice, often remarkably so, linguists generally include them within the realm of voice phenomena (Croft 2001; Himmelman 2002).

Voice in Gayo constitutes a symmetrical system. Neither is there an unmarked voice category, nor are arguments demoted to adjunct status in any of the voice alignments, i.e. there is no 'passive' or analogous operation in Gayo. Non-subject arguments are expressed as NPs, typically pronominal clitics. Non-subjects follow their predicates to form complex VPs, except for undergoer-oriented clauses with first person actors, in which actors are expressed as portmanteau pronominal affixes, replacing *i-* with *ku-*, *kami-* or *kite-*. Although voice affixation is traditionally considered inflectional in nature (Anderson 1985), non-inflectional characteristics of voice-morphology in western Austronesian languages are well documented (Foley 1988; Himmelman forthcoming).

The actor- and undergoer-prefixes *mun-* and *i-* constitute a diathesis, signalling the actor- or undergoer-macrorole status of the subject NP. Voice affixes, like intransitive and valence-increasing affixes, attach to free nominal and verbal roots to derive new lexemes. Accordingly, they cannot be classified as inflectional. However, the notion of derivation is problematic with regard to the affixation of bound verbal roots, which never function as syntactic words without affixation, and thus cannot be considered to constitute verbal lexemes without having first undergone affixation. Thus, the primary function of voice affixation is to signal the presence of semantic elements in the affixed lexeme whether or not derivation has taken place (cf. Clynes 1995 for Balinese). Voice affixes mark verbs denoting two-participant events, signalling the semantic role of the subject argument.

However, voice orientation is not indicative of syntactic transitivity. While undergoer-oriented predicates are typically (but not necessarily) syntactically transitive, actor-oriented predicates are often intransitive. The undergoer participant is often either implied or expressed as an incorporated noun. Clynes (1995) describes similar behaviour in Balinese, noting that voice is indicative of transitivity in its semantic sense (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Givon 1990; Wierzbicka 1988), i.e. indicating the presence of an actor and undergoer in the semantics of the verb, regardless of whether both of these participants are realised as syntactic arguments. This contrasts with the notion of transitivity in its syntactic sense, which refers to clauses containing two syntactic arguments.

Voice-marked predicates in Gayo involve two semantic participants, an actor and an undergoer. The decontrol undergoer-prefix *ter-* is included within the broad category of voice as it marks predicates referring to events involving an actor and an undergoer. However, unlike these other prefixes, *ter-* signals the additional semantic component of decontrol. A predicate marked by *ter-* describes an event that is carried out unintentionally or (when negated) is impossible to carry out. In example (1-16) *ter-* signals (in)ability to perform the act described by the lexical root to which it is attached:

- (1-16) *Oya gëre te-betih nè.*
 that not DC.UO-know anymore
 'That's unknowable.' (IK:99)

The actor prefix *mun-* can mark both (syntactically) intransitive and transitive predicates. In intransitive predicates, *mun-* specifies that the event involves a non-individuated undergoer. In example (1-17), *mun-* is attached to the transitive root *-tos* 'make', forming an intransitive verb. The undergoer is expressed as an incorporated noun. Actor-oriented predicates with canonical word order (i.e. predicate-subject) cannot take an individuated undergoer:

- (1-17) *Munos wu(*=a) wè.*
 AO:make fish.trap=that 3
 'He is making (*the) fish traps.'

Mun- can also mark transitive predicates, i.e. in which the undergoer has argument status. Transitive actor-oriented predicates feature a subject which is in pre-predicate position and an individuated undergoer, a subject that is deleted for clause-combining purposes or is ellipsed for reasons of discourse continuity. Thus, the syntax of transitive actor-oriented clauses is more restricted than that of undergoer-orientated clauses, as the subject can either precede or follow its predicate in an undergoer-oriented clause. Transitive actor-oriented predicates are typically dependent clauses in which the subject is deleted for grammatical purposes. For example, (1-18) contains a relative clause in which the predicate is actor-oriented. The voice orientation in this clause is determined by the fact that the gapped subject argument is an actor:

- (1-18) *jema si mumangan=è*
 person REL AO:eat=3.N.SUBJ
 'the person who ate it'

In contrast with actor orientation, undergoer-orientated predicates are transitive, with the exception of clauses in which the undergoer is realised as a dative (oblique) argument. In undergoer-oriented clauses, the order of constituents is typically predicate-subject, but the

undergoer can be fronted to pre-predicate position. The sentence in example (1-19) contains a transitive undergoer-oriented predicate:

- (1-19) *I-tos=è* *wu.*
 UO-make=3.N.SUBJ fish.trap
 'He made a fish trap.'

Like actor orientation, undergoer orientation is also important in signalling the macrorole of a subject that has been deleted for discourse or clause-combining purposes. Example (1-20) contains a relative clause in which the gapped subject argument is an undergoer:

- (1-20) *kerô* *si* *i-pangan=è*
 cooked.rice REL UO-eat=3.N.SUBJ
 'the rice that he ate'

(iii) Apart from intransitive affixes and voice affixes, there is a set of four valence-increasing affixes, which attach to nouns and verbs to derive transitive verbs. The valence-increasing affixes are given in Table 1-3.

Table 1-3: Valence-increasing affixes

<i>-i</i>	locative suffix
<i>-(n)en</i>	causative suffix
<i>per-</i>	causative prefix
<i>peti-...-(n)en</i>	facilitative circumfix

The most productive of the valence-increasing affixes are the causative suffix *-(n)en* and the applicative suffix *-i*, while the causative prefix *per-* is less productive. The circumfix *peti-...-(n)en* is not productive at all and occurred rarely in the corpus. Each of the productive valence-increasing affixes conveys a number of different meanings. The meaning conveyed is determined by the word class and semantics of the root to which the suffix is attached. In examples (1-21a) and (1-22a), the suffixes *-i* and *-(n)en* are attached to intransitive roots to derive transitive verbs. Examples of the same roots without these suffixes are given in (1-20b) and (1-21b) respectively.

- (1-21) a. *I-demu-i=é* *mien rëje ni kampung=a.*
 UO-meet-LOC=3.N.SUBJ again king POSS village=that
 'He met the king of that village again.' (*demu* (*urum*) 'meet (with)' VI)
- b. *Aku gëre mera demu urum urang tue=mu.*
 I not want meet with person old=2.POSS
 'I don't want to meet with your parents.'
- (1-22) a. *I-tangkuh-n=è* *kude=é.*
 UO-go.out-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ horse=3.POSS
 'He put the horse out.' (*tangkuh* 'go out' VI)
- b. *Rara pè muloi tangkuh ari jep jengkal ni tanoh.*
 fire also/even begin go.out from each span POSS earth
 'Fire began coming out of every inch (lit. 'span') of the earth.' (IK:41)

The locative suffix *-i* is used to license an oblique role (location or stimulus) to direct argument status. Example (1-23a) contains an intransitive predicate and an oblique argument specifying a location. In (1-23b) the predicate bears the locative suffix *-i*, licensing the location as a direct argument and allowing accessibility to relativisation:

- (1-23) a. *Kunul wè i atan kersi=a.*
 seated 3 LOC top:POSS chair=that
 'He sat on that chair.'
- b. *Kersi si i-kunul-i=é.*
 chair REL UO-sit-LOC=3.N.SUBJ
 'The chair that he sat on.'

Attached to transitive roots, these affixes derive new verbs without any resulting increase in the syntactic valence of the predicate. The function of the affixes in such cases is to signal semantic information about the nature of the event, such as increased volition or repetition. Consider examples (1-24) and (1-25):

- (1-24) *I-èngon-i=é batang-batang ni kayu.*
 UO-see-LOC=3.N.SUBJ RED-tree.trunk POSS wood
 'He looked around at the trees (repeatedly).' (*i-èngon* 'see' VT)
- (1-25) *I-dere-n=è ngi=é.*
 UO-hit-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ younger.sibling=3.POSS
 'He struck that dog (intensely, purposefully).' (*i-dere* 'hit' VT)

Transitive clauses in Gayo are those clauses that contain at least two direct arguments. Arguments in Gayo are of two kinds: direct and oblique. Direct arguments are expressed as NPs and oblique arguments as PPs headed by the dative preposition *kin* or *ku* 'to', as demonstrated in example (1-25):

- (1-26) *I-osah ama rempelam kin ine.*
 UO-give father manggo DAT mother
 DIRECT DIRECT OBLIQUE
 'Father gave a mango to mother.'

A distinction has been made in the literature between syntactic and semantic notions of transitivity (e.g. Givon 1990; Hopper & Thompson 1980). In Gayo, syntactic transitivity, i.e. the number of direct arguments in a clause, often does not coincide with transitivity in the semantic sense as outlined by Hopper and Thompson (1980). Direct arguments must have individuated reference. Predicates denoting events with two participants are only syntactically transitive if the event is characterised by a majority of the features associated with 'semantic transitivity' by Hopper and Thompson. In general, the Gayo clause tends to involve a greater number of participants, i.e. semantic roles selected by the verb, than are realised as syntactic arguments. Two-participant events are often expressed as intransitive clauses, and certain three-participant events are often expressed as monotransitive clauses.

There are two ways in which participants without direct argument status can be realised as non-arguments in the Gayo clause: (1) As incorporated nouns; and (2) in ditransitive clauses as possessive phrases that refer to a benefactor participant within a complex NP. Moreover, although they do not strictly contain two participants, many affixed verbs with nominal bases are often rendered as transitive clauses in English. These strategies are outlined in the following.

Firstly, participants can be expressed as non-arguments by means of noun incorporation. While arguments refer to individuated entities, incorporated nouns do not. This is demonstrated in (1-27), where the noun *kerô* 'rice', a staple food of the Gayo, is incorporated into the predicate. The non-argument status of this noun is demonstrated by the fact that the clause cannot contain an undergoer with individuated reference, as demonstrated in (1-28):

- (1-27) *Mangan kerô aku.*
 AO:eat rice I
 'I am eating rice.' BUT: '*I am eating the rice.'

- (1-28) **Mangan=è aku.*
 AO:eat=3.N.SUBJ I
 ('I ate it.')

Secondly, clauses containing ditransitive verbs can involve three participants, which are expressed as two (syntactic) arguments. For example, the ditransitive verb *i-osah* 'give' can function as a predicate that specifies three participants with the theme and beneficiary expressed as a single complex NP. The theme is expressed as the head of the NP, and the beneficiary is expressed as a modifying possessive phrase within that NP. Consider example (1-29):

- (1-29) *Nge ku-osah sèn=mu.*
 already UO.1-give money=2.POSS
 'I gave you some money.' (lit. 'I gave your money.')

Verbal affixation is also productively attached to nouns to derive verbs that occur in intransitive or monotransitive clauses. In English these are translated as monotransitive or ditransitive clauses respectively. In example (1-30), *gerbak* 'wagon (N)' is affixed with *ber-*, deriving an intransitive verb:

- (1-30) *Awan-awan be-gerbak.*
 RED-father MID-wagon
 '(Our) grandparents rode on wagons.'

The actor prefix *mun-* can productively attach to nouns to derive what in Gayo are intransitive verbs. The derived verb refers to the action typically associated with what is specified by the nominal base, e.g. *mungëber* 'tell news' (*këber* 'news'), *mune-sop* 'make soup' (*sop* 'soup'), and *munyupu* 'make a roof' (*supu* 'roof'). Consider examples (1-31) and (1-32), which contain affixed nominal bases marked by the intransitive prefixes *mun-* (§7.1) and *ber-* (§7.2) respectively:

- (1-31) *Ine tengah munyecah.*
 mother CONT AO:spiced.vegetables
 'Mother is making spiced vegetables.' (*cecah* 'spiced vegetables' (N))
- (1-32) *Kite=ni sè=ni be-kekëberen.*
 we.INCL=this now=this MID-folk.tale
 'We will now tell a folk tale.' (*kekëberen* 'folk tale' (N))

Valence-increasing affixes can be attached to nouns with a similar result. In (1-33), *baju* 'shirt, clothes (N)' takes the causative suffix *-(n)en* to derive a transitive verb:

- (1-33) *I-baju-ni ama anak=é.*
 UO-shirt-CAUS1 father offspring=3.POSS
 'The father is putting clothes on (lit. is 'shirting') his child.'

Like many other languages in South-East Asia, Gayo makes productive use of verb serialisation. Serialisation in Gayo is at the level of the core, and involves the combining of two verbs representing two separate predicates within a single clause. The two verbs can be in apposition, as in demonstrated example (1-34); or they can be separated by another constituent, as in example (1-35):

- (1-34) *Wè nge [beluh] [mungarô].*
 3 already go AO:hunt
 'He has gone hunting.'
- (1-35) *Nge [beluh] wè [mungarô].*
 already go 3 AO:hunt
 'He has gone hunting.'

Serialisation is used to express relationships between two verbs of simultaneous states of affairs, purpose, and reason or result.

1.3 Previous studies of Gayo

Prior to the Dutch occupation of Aceh that began in 1873, very little was known to outsiders about the Gayo highlands. The first scholarly account of the Gayo region was made by the renowned Dutch Islamicist C. Snouck Hurgronje, who was sent to Aceh from Batavia (modern-day Jakarta) in 1891 as an advisor to the Dutch colonial administration. After carrying out extensive research on Acehnese language and custom, Hurgronje began to collect information on the Gayo from Gayo people he met on the coast. In 1903 he published his findings in the monograph *Het Gajoland en Zijne Bewoners* ('Gayoland and its inhabitants') which contains information regarding the social structure and cultural practices of the Gayo.

Snouck Hurgronje later returned to Batavia with two Gayo consultants with whom he had been working in Aceh, Nyaq Putih from Isak, and Aman Ratus, from *Gayô Lues*. He then focused on studying the Gayo language. They worked together with the linguist G.A.J. Hazeu, recording stories and producing nine wax cylinder recordings of Gayo folktales and *didong* poetic performances (Bowen 1991). In 1907 Hazeu published a Gayo-Dutch dictionary based entirely on the information collected from the two Gayo consultants. This work is of a very high quality and contains many sample sentences with their translations, as well as an introductory chapter with a survey of Gayo phonology and morphology.

The most important studies of the Gayo since Snouck Hurgronje and Hazeu were initiated in the late 1970s by M. Junus Melalatoa, professor of anthropology at the University of Indonesia, and a native speaker of Gayo. He has produced numerous studies of Gayo culture (e.g. 1995, 1997), and has produced a Gayo-Indonesian dictionary (1982), the result of his own extensive research in the Gayo region. Other important contributions to the study of the Gayo have been those of the American anthropologist John Bowen, who has produced three major publications on Gayo poetry and ritual, including many transcriptions and explanations of Gayo oral literary genres. Other studies of Gayo include a sketch-grammar of the language by Giulio Soravia (1984), which contains an outline (120

pages) of the phonology, morphology and syntax, and an appendix containing some texts gathered by Snouck Hurgronje and G.A.J. Hazeu. From the late 1970s to the early 1980s, research teams from Syiah Kuala University, Banda Aceh, produced a number of brief studies on Gayo phonology, morphology and syntax. Baihaqi (1977) is the first of four studies of Gayo, followed by Syamsuddin (1979), Asyik (1980) and Makam (1982).

1.4 Dialect variation

The Gayo are traditionally divided into five geographic, cultural and linguistic domains. Three of these are located within Central Aceh: the *Bukit* and *Cik* domains which are located in what is traditionally referred to as the Lake District (*Gayô Lôôt*), centred around Lake Tawar; and the *Gayô Dëret* district, centred around the village of Linge. The other two domains are outside of Central Aceh. These are: the *Gayô Lues* district, centred around the village of Belangkejerën in South-East Aceh, and *Gayô Serbejadi*, centred around the village of Lukup in East Aceh. The five Gayo dialects are mutually intelligible, differing in the use of vocabulary, and the pronunciation of certain vowels. The dialects spoken in Central Aceh (*Bukit*, *Cik*, and *Dëret*) are generally considered by the Gayo to be the most prestigious dialects. The dialects of *Gayô Serbejadi* and *Gayô Lues* are considered *kasar* 'coarse, uncultured' in comparison. The Gayo base this assumption on the use of some vocabulary and pronouns that are considered impolite in the dialects of Central Aceh but which are unmarked in the other dialects. Bowen (1991:16) describes the division:

Northern Gayo characterize southern speech as "coarse", referring to the omission of certain particles that are used to "soften" speech ... Gayo from Takèngën [Takengon] or Isak perceive southern speech as loud and too direct, whereas southerners consider it to be honest and forthright. Conversely, southerners consider the more "refined" speech of northerners as designed to hide malicious intentions and emotions.

Within Central Aceh, the distinction between the two dialects of the Lake District, i.e. *Cik* (also referred to as *Basa Toa* 'downstream language') and *Bukit* (also referred to as *Basa Uken* 'upstream language') is accentuated by traditional political rivalry. The *Cik* dialect is spoken in the modern-day districts of Bebesen and Pegasing. *Bukit* is spoken in all of the other districts in Central Aceh, except in Linge, where the *Dëret* dialect is spoken. *Dëret* is virtually identical to *Bukit* except for some differences in vocabulary. There are very few differences between the dialects of Central Aceh in comparison with those spoken in East and South-East Aceh.

This grammar describes the *Bukit* dialect of the Lake District in Central Aceh. It also draws upon data from the *Dëret* dialect of Central Aceh. Where these two dialects differ, I state the difference explicitly. I chose to describe a Central Aceh dialect for two reasons. Firstly, the speech of Central Aceh is considered by the Gayo to be more prestigious than other dialects. Speakers of the *Gayô Lues* dialect usually adapt their speech to that of Central Aceh, but the opposite is not common. Secondly, Central Aceh is by far the most populous region in the Gayo highlands.

Of the dialects within Central Aceh, *Bukit* was chosen because it is spoken across a larger geographic region, and by a much larger percentage of the population than the *Cik* dialect. Furthermore, the *Bukit* dialect is placed within the centre of the Gayo dialect continuum, sharing many features with all of the dialects, including *Gayô Lues* and *Gayô Serbejadi*. Much of the vocabulary of the *Cik* dialect is considered more marked and specific to that region. Finally, the choice was also influenced by the fact that there are

more distinctions in the occurrence of vowels in words in the Bukit dialect than in the Cik dialect. This fact is discussed in the following paragraph.

In the Cik dialect there is less variation in vowels. Many penultimate-syllable vowels exhibited in Bukit are reduced to schwa in Cik, e.g. /nɔme/ (B) – /nəme/ (C) ‘lie down’, and /kase/ (B) – /kəse/ (C) ‘later’. There is also a distinction between word-final mid-high vowels in Bukit that does not exist in Cik. In Bukit, both /e/ and /e⁴/ can occur word-finally, whereas in Cik only /e/ occurs word-finally, never /e/. For example, Bukit distinguishes /ɔne/ ‘sand’ and the demonstrative /ɔnɛ/ ‘there’. Whereas in Cik the words for ‘sand’ and ‘there’ are expressed as the homophonous /ɔne/. Bukit also distinguishes /ɔ/ and /o/ word-finally, whereas in Cik only /o/ occurs word-finally. For example, Bukit /sɔ/ ‘yonder’ and /lo/ ‘day’ are in Cik /so/ and /lo/ respectively.

1.5 Methodology and structure of this grammar

1.5.1 Data collection and corpus

This grammar is based on a corpus of data mostly collected in the Gayo highlands and from a native speaker residing in Melbourne, Australia. I first went to Aceh in 1997 and stayed in Banda Aceh for a period of five months. I made several trips to the Gayo highlands to establish contacts in the region. During that time I acquired a basic knowledge of Gayo from a number of native speaker teachers residing in Banda Aceh. I collected a number of Indonesian publications on the Gayo language, and transcribed and translated one text. The main body of fieldwork was carried out during a second trip to Aceh over a seven-month period from March to September 1998. I collected most data from around Takengon and surrounding villages, as well as from the village of Isak, which lies thirty kilometres to the south-east of Takengon.

During my time in the highlands I participated in the everyday lives of the Gayo people, engaging in activities such as picking coffee, hunting, and tending to buffaloes. I recorded many samples of both elicited and unelicited speech in a wide range of contexts in notebook entries and tape recordings. Most of the data stem from the speech of around ten people ranging in age from forty to around eighty years. Most of the speakers were fluent in Bahasa Indonesia, except for two elderly people who spoke only Gayo, and two speakers were fluent in English and were trained English teachers. They were able to discuss with me a range of issues related to Gayo grammar. A total of seven ninety-minute cassette recordings were made, most of which were transcribed with native speakers in the field. These recordings consist of the informal conversation of a number of older speakers, and traditional stories told by A.R. Hakim Aman Pinan, Ibrahim Kadir, Muhammad Daud, Said Usman, and Aman Hadijah. Two of these stories, *Pelanuk* and *Depik*, are contained in the appendices. Also included in the corpus is a two hundred-page manuscript of traditional stories collected and transcribed by Ibrahim Kadir (IK), as well as the traditional stories and their Indonesian translations published in Hanafiah et al. (1985) (SLG). Some sample sentences in this grammar are from Hazeu (1907) and Melalatoa et al. (1982). Examples without references include some elicited data, but are mostly unelicited natural speech.

A deterioration in political and security conditions in Aceh meant further trips to Aceh were not possible. However, from 1999 to 2001 I worked with a native speaker who was

⁴ /e/ occurs word-finally only in words of the major classes, while /e/ occurs word-finally only in words belonging to minor classes.

undertaking postgraduate study at The University of Melbourne. Egan Rahmat Dirgantara was in his mid thirties during the writing of this grammar, and native to the Bukit region of Takengon. During this time I carried out further elicitation, resulting in forty typed pages of additional elicited data. He also spent much time explaining further many aspects of the corpus that I had compiled during my time in the Gayo highlands.

1.5.2 Aims and structure of this grammar

The aim of this grammar is to describe the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Gayo language. The work is primarily descriptive in nature, and so is centred around the data and its analysis, with less focus on theoretical issues. I do not exclusively employ any particular theoretical framework in this grammar, although some concepts are borrowed from Role and Reference Grammar (Foley & Van Valin 1984; Van Valin 1993; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). This grammar also owes much to the descriptive works of Clynes (1995), Dixon (1988), Durie (1985), Klammer (1998), Margetts (1999) and Woollams (1996), among others.

The grammar is divided into sixteen chapters which are organised in six parts. Part 1 (Chapters 1 to 4) provides a general overview of the language. Chapter 1 is an introductory essay, providing an overview of Gayo language and society, a typological overview, and previous scholarship on Gayo. Chapter 2 deals with phonology and morphophonology, Chapter 3 describes morphological and syntactic units and relations, and Chapter 4 outlines word classes and their defining properties.

Part 2 (Chapters 5 and 6) deals with various aspects of the clause. Chapter 5 covers grammatical relations, transitivity, and outlines basic clause types in Gayo. Chapter 6 covers various non-basic clause types.

In part 3 (Chapters 7 to 9) verbal affixes are described. Intransitive affixes are described in Chapter 7, voice in Chapter 8, and valence-increasing affixes in Chapter 9.

In part 4 (Chapters 10 and 11) two kinds of phrase structure are described: noun phrases in Chapter 10 and prepositional phrases in Chapter 11.

In part 5 (Chapters 12 and 13) a range of clausal modifications are covered. Chapter 12 describes modification for aspect and modality, as well as a range of adverbial particles. Speech acts are described in Chapter 13.

Part 6 (Chapters 14 to 16) deals with complex sentences. In Chapter 14 relative clauses and other descriptive phrases are described. Complementation is described in Chapter 15, and conjunctions and parataxis are described in Chapter 16.

The appendices contain two sample texts; surveys of measure nouns, kinship terms and compounds; and finally, a core vocabulary list.

2 *Phonology and morphophonology*

In this chapter, the phonemic inventory of Gayo as well as allomorphic and morphophonological variation are described. In §2.1 the phonemic inventory and allophonic variation are outlined, and in §2.2 various aspects of the non-segmental phonology. In §2.3 morphophonemic variation is covered, including allomorphic variation with affixes. Finally, in §2.4 various issues regarding the orthography used in this grammar are described.

2.1 Phonemes

2.1.1 Consonants

The inventory of consonant phonemes in Gayo is typical of western Indonesian languages. The Gayo consonant phonemes are listed in Table 2-1.

Table 2-1: Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal	labial- velar
voiceless plosive	<i>p</i> (p)	<i>t</i> (t)		<i>k</i> (k)	' (?) ¹	
voiced plosive	<i>b</i> (b)	<i>d</i> (d)		<i>g</i> (g)		
fricative		<i>s</i> (s)			<i>h</i> (h)	
voiceless affricate			<i>c</i> (tʃ)			
voiced affricate			<i>j</i> (dʒ)			
approximant			<i>y</i> (j)			
nasal	<i>m</i> (m)	<i>n</i> (n)	<i>ny</i> (ɲ)	<i>ng</i> (ŋ)		<i>w</i> (w)
trilled rhotic		<i>r</i> (r)				
lateral		<i>l</i> (l)				

¹ The glottal stop occurs only in words borrowed from M/BI or Arabic.

2.1.1.1 Consonant phonemes and allomorphic variation

All consonants in Gayo can occur word-initially and -medially. Only voiceless plosives, fricatives, plain nasals, rhotics and laterals can occur word-finally. Voiceless plosives are unreleased word-finally. The alveolar plosive /t/ is slightly fronted, compared to /d/, and is articulated at the alveodental position. The consonant phonemes and their allophonic variants are described in the following.

/p/ Voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive

- [p^h] unreleased word-finally
- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>serap</i> /sərap/ | [sə ^h rap ^h] | 'side' |
| <i>bep</i> /bəp/ | [bəp ^h] | 'strong' |
- [p] elsewhere
- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| <i>ipon</i> /ipɔn/ | [pu ^h mū:] | 'hand' |
| | [ɪ ^h pɔn] | 'tooth' |

/t/ Voiceless unaspirated alveolar plosive

- [t^h] unreleased word-finally
- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>pet</i> /pet/ | [pet ^h] | 'bitter' |
| <i>Jemat</i> /dʒəmat/ | [dʒə ^h māt ^h] | 'Friday' |
- [t] elsewhere
- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| <i>tos</i> /tɔs/ | [tɔs] | 'make' |
| <i>pitu</i> /pɪtu/ | [pɪ ^h tu:] | 'seven' |
| <i>gintes</i> /ɡɪntəs/ | [ɡɪn ^h təs] | 'surprised' |

/k/ Voiceless unaspirated velar plosive

- [k^h] unreleased word-finally
- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>sok</i> /sɔk/ | [sɔk ^h] | 'suspicious' |
| <i>kucak</i> /kutʃak/ | [ku ^h tʃak ^h] | 'small' |
- [k] elsewhere
- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| <i>kuen</i> /kuən/ | [ku ^h ən] | 'right (N)' |
| <i>merké</i> /mərke/ | [mər ^h ke:] | 'lazy' |

/b/ Voiced bilabial plosive

- [b]
- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>babi</i> /babɪ/ | [ba ^h bi:] | 'pig' |
| <i>kerben</i> /kərbən/ | [kər ^h bən] | 'sacrificial animal' |

/d/ Voiced alveolar plosive

- [d]
- | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>dēret</i> /darət/ | [də ^h :rət ^h] | 'land, outside' |
| <i>mude</i> /mudə/ | [mu ^h dɜ:] | 'young' |

/g/	Voiced velar plosive		
	→ [g]		
	<i>gerak</i> /gərak/	[gə'rak]	'move'
c /tʃ/	Voiceless palatal affricate		
	→ [tʃ]		
	<i>cerak</i> /tʃərak/	[tʃə'rak]	'talk'
j /dʒ/	Voiced palatal affricate		
	→ [dʒ]		
	<i>jelobok</i> /dʒələbək/	[dʒələ'bək]	'steam'
/m/	Voiced bilabial plain nasal		
	→ [m]		
	<i>manuk</i> /manuk/	[ma'nūk]	'bird'
/n/	Voiced alveolar plain nasal		
	→ [n]		
	<i>nomé</i> /nɔme/	[nɔ'mē:]	'lie down, sleep'
ng /ŋ/	Voiced velar plain nasal		
	→ [ŋ]		
	<i>ngôk</i> /ŋok/	[ŋōk]	'can, able to'
ny /ɲ/	Voiced palatal plain nasal		
	→ [ɲ]		
	<i>sengap</i> /səŋap/	[sə'ŋāp]	'quiet'
/s/	Voiceless alveopalatal fricative		
	→ [s]		
	<i>karang</i> /karaŋ/	[ka'raŋ]	'riverbank'
	<i>selé</i> /səle/	[sə'le:]	'roast, pan-fry'
	<i>ôsoh</i> /osoh/	[o'soh]	'steal'
	<i>oros</i> /ɔrɔs/	[ɔ'rɔs]	'uncooked rice'

/h/ Voiceless glottal fricative

→ [h]

<i>hak</i> /hak/	[hakʔ]	‘rights’
<i>kahè</i> /kahe/	[kaʰe:]	‘later’
<i>soboh</i> /soboh/	[sɔʰbɔh]	‘morning’

/l/ voiced alveolar lateral

→ [l] syllable-finally and followed by a syllable with a consonant onset:

<i>seldi</i> /səldɪ/	[səl̥ˈdi:]	‘hiccup’
<i>jelbang</i> /dʒəlbaŋ/	[dʒəl̥ˈbaŋ]	‘hoe’

and word-finally:

<i>awal</i> /awal/	[aˈwaɭ]	‘banana’
<i>kemèl</i> /kəmɛl/	[kəˈmɛɭ]	‘shy’

→ [l] elsewhere

<i>lède</i> /ladə/	[lɛːˈdɛ:]	‘chili’
<i>geléh</i> /gəleh/	[gəˈleh]	‘slaughter’

/r/ trilled alveolar rhotic

→ [r]

<i>rering</i> /rəriŋ/	[rəˈriŋ]	‘wall’
<i>teréh</i> /təreh/	[təˈreh]	‘afraid’
<i>pertiĕ</i> /pərˈtɪk/	[pərˈtɪkʔ]	‘papaya’
<i>uer</i> /uər/	[uˈər]	‘stable (N)’

/w/ voiced labial-velar approximant

→ [w]

<i>wuk</i> /wuk/	[wukʔ]	‘hair’
<i>awah</i> /awah/	[aˈwah]	‘mouth’

y /j/ voiced palatal approximant

→ [j]

<i>kayu</i> /kaju/	[kaˈju:]	‘wood’
<i>sayang</i> /sajaŋ/	[saˈjaŋ]	‘feel compassion’

2.1.1.2 Funny nasals

‘Funny nasals’ are a feature of the Gayo phonemic inventory of elderly speakers, but have been lost in the speech of younger speakers (approx. <60 years). These are a special set of nasals which are contrasted with plain nasals. The place of articulation of funny nasals mirrors the plain nasals. They stem diachronically from an original nasal + voiced plosive combination, where the plosive has been lost. In this section they are represented with [ˆ] above the nasal in the phonetic representation, i.e. [m̠], [n̠], [ɲ̠], [ŋ̠]. As they do

not occur in the speech of younger speakers, but rather represent a transitional phase between the loss of a voiced plosive, the funny nasals are not represented in the orthography employed in this grammar.

The term 'funny nasal' was first used by Lawler (1977) to describe a parallel phenomenon in Acehnese and was later adopted by Durie (1985, 1987). Funny nasals are distinguished from plain nasals in two ways. Firstly, there is a marked reduction in the nasality of funny nasals in comparison with nasals. Lawler (1977) describes the funny nasals in Acehnese as having 'significantly reduced nasal air flow'. Secondly, funny nasals cause different allophonic variation in following vowels, in contrast with nasals. The vowel immediately following the funny nasal is not nasal, in contrast with the situation for nasals, which are followed by a phonetic nasal vowel. Durie (1985) analyses the funny nasals in Acehnese as allophonic variants of the nasals, the variation being based on the interaction of nasal consonants with nasal vowel phonemes. In Gayo, however, the funny nasals are analysed as phonemes, as there is no distinct set of nasal vowel phonemes which could affect the quality of a preceding nasal consonant. The funny nasals occur only as the onset of a stressed (final) syllable. In contrast, nasals can occur as the onset or coda in any syllable.

Hazeu (1907) analyses the Gayo funny nasals as a cluster of nasal + voiced plosive, and he represents them orthographically as such. For example, *lemis* /ləm̩is/ 'mosquito' is represented as 'lembis', and *lemem* /ləm̩əm/ 'be a long time' as 'lemböm'. However, he points out that the plosive element in these combinations is often pronounced so softly that it is often undetectable (1907:VIII). Baihaqi (1977), a native speaker of Gayo, identifies two distinct sets of nasals. In his sketch grammar, he refers to *nasal sengau* ('nasal nasals') in contrast with *nasal tak sengau* ('non-nasal nasals'). This distinction is not, however, represented in his orthography throughout his study. Other recent studies of Gayo (e.g. Syamsuddin 1979; Soravia 1984) do not identify two distinct sets of nasals. This is most likely because the distinction has been lost in the speech of younger speakers.

As mentioned above, funny nasals are restricted to the onset of a stressed (i.e. final) syllable. Words in Gayo generally do not contain combinations of nasal + voiced plosive, except across morpheme boundaries, e.g. *peng-geléh* 'knife for slaughtering' (*pen-* INSTR + *i-geléh* 'slaughter'), and in some recent borrowings from Bahasa Indonesia, e.g. the placename *Banda Aceh*.² Vowels in word-final (i.e. stressed) position that have a nasal onset are nasalised. However, the vowel following a funny nasal in a stressed (word-final) syllable is not nasalised. Funny nasals typically occur in borrowings from Malay which originally had a nasal + voiced plosive combination from which the plosive has been lost. This is demonstrated in the following example:

Funny nasal:

time [tim̩r̩:] 'bucket' (M/BI *timba*)
lemu [ləm̩u:] 'cow' (M/BI *lembu*)

Nasal:

lime [lim̩i:] 'five'
pumu [pum̩u:] 'hand'

A characteristic of funny nasals in Gayo is that their nasal quality is less pronounced than that of nasals, as has been described by Durie (1985, 1987) for Acehnese. In some cases, the nasal element in [ɲ] is dropped altogether in rapid speech. For example, /rəɲəl/ 'then', is often realised as /rəjəl/, and /kuɲur/ 'spear', is often realised as /kujūr/.⁴

² The capital of Aceh was originally called *Kute Rēje* (M/BI, Acehnese: Kuta Raja), and was renamed Banda Aceh after Indonesian independence in 1947.

³ Hazeu (1907) represents *renyel* as *röndjöl*.

⁴ Hazeu (1907) represents *kunyor* as *koendjoer*, and gives variant forms: *koenjoer* and *koejoer*.

Phenomena parallel to the funny nasals described here have been described in many other languages in western Indonesia. Snouck Hurgronje (1892, cited in Durie 1985) notes that in a number of Malay dialects the sequence nasal + voiced plosive ‘melts’ together to form a single sound. Court (1970) states that for many western Indonesian languages, in rapid speech the oral plosive following a nasal tends to be lost. Clynes (1995:23) notes the same phenomenon in Balinese. In Rejang, Coady and McGinn (1982) refer to a set of ‘barred nasals’, which are distinct from the set of ordinary nasals, and are identified by the nasality of a following vowel rather than the consonant that precedes it.

Nasal + voiced plosive combinations occur across morpheme boundaries, e.g. *pen-dere* ‘instrument for hitting’ (*pen-* INSTR, *i-dere* ‘hit’), *pem-belah* ‘axe’ (*pen-* INSTR, *i-belah* ‘cleave’). In these combinations the voiced plosive is clearly audible. Furthermore, many recent borrowings from Bahasa Indonesia contain nasal + voiced plosive combinations in which the voiced plosive is retained.

2.1.1.3 *Minimal pairs*

The following minimal and near-minimal pairs establish the phonemic status of phonetically similar consonants in Gayo:

/p/ ~ /b/	/parəŋ/ <i>parang</i> ‘machete’	/barəŋ/ <i>barang</i> ‘things’
/t/ ~ /d/	/karəŋ/ <i>kute</i> ‘village’	/kudə/ <i>kude</i> ‘horse’
/k/ ~ /g/	/kulə/ <i>kule</i> ‘tiger’	/gulə/ <i>gule</i> ‘sugar’
/m/ ~ /n/	/aman/ <i>aman</i> ‘safe’	/anan/ <i>anan</i> ‘grandmother’
/n/ ~ /ŋ/	/sɛn/ <i>sèn</i> ‘money’	/sɛŋ/ <i>sèng</i> ‘iron sheeting’
/b/ ~ /w/	/bu/ <i>bu</i> ‘smell’	/wu/ <i>wu</i> ‘fish trap’
/s/ ~ /tʃ/	/sɔp/ <i>sop</i> ‘soup’	/tʃɔp/ <i>cop</i> ‘land, alight’
/t/ ~ /tʃ/	/tətəh/ <i>tetah</i> ‘repair’	/tʃətʃəh/ <i>cecah</i> ‘spicy vegetable dish’
/t/ ~ /j/	/talʊ/ <i>talʊ</i> ‘call’	/dʒalʊ/ <i>jalu</i> ‘race’
/d/ ~ /dʒ/	/radə/ <i>rède</i> ‘creep up’	/radʒə/ <i>rèje</i> ‘ruler’
/t/ ~ /r/	/tɔa/ <i>toa</i> ‘downstream’	/rɔa/ <i>roa</i> ‘two’
/d/ ~ /r/	/dadə/ <i>dède</i> ‘chest’	/darə/ <i>dère</i> ‘young girl, virgin’
/l/ ~ /r/	/lap/ <i>lap</i> ‘hand cloth’	/rap/ <i>rap</i> ‘near’
/l/ ~ /d/	/lagən/ <i>lègen</i> ‘grinding board’	/dagən/ <i>dègen</i> ‘greedy’
/h/ ~ /k/	/hal/ <i>hal</i> ‘thing, matter’	/kal/ <i>kal</i> ‘half-coconut’
/s/ ~ /h/	/awas/ <i>awas</i> ‘spices’	/awah/ <i>awah</i> ‘mouth’

2.1.2 *Vowels*

In this section vowel phonemes and their allophonic variants are described. There are three front vowels, three back vowels and two central vowels in Gayo. The vowel phonemes are given in Table 2-2.

Table 2-2: Vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
high	<i>i</i> (ɪ)		<i>u</i> (ʊ)
high-mid	<i>é</i> (e (aɪ))		<i>ô</i> (o (aʊ))
mid		<i>e</i> (ə)	
low-mid	<i>è</i> (ɛ)		<i>o</i> (ɔ)
low		<i>a/ë</i> (a) ⁵	

Although there are no phonemic diphthongs in the everyday language of Bukit speakers, the high-mid Vs stem diachronically from diphthongs (cf. *e* < *aɪ and *o* < *aʊ). In the Bukit (and Dëret) dialects, the diphthongs are heard only in poetic language. In the Lues dialect, these are still diphthongs, and have no pure-vowel variant. In Bukit (and Dëret), the phoneme /e/ can be realised as /aɪ/, and phonemes /o/ and /u/ as /aʊ/. The phoneme /u/ can also be realised as /aʊ/, although in most cases this did not develop from the diphthong historically. Diachronically, /o/ (and in some cases also /u/) developed from *aʊ. This variation occurs within roots only, and not within clitics, affixes, or particles.

The diphthongs occur only in monosyllabic words. They consist of two syllables, with stress falling on the second vowel within the diphthong. Variation between diphthongs and pure vowels in the different dialects of Gayo is demonstrated in Table 2.3.

Table 2-3: Diphthong variants across dialects with examples

	Bukit (and Dëret)	Gayo Lues
<i>/e/ ~ /aɪ/</i>		
<i>jéng</i> ‘spicy’	/dʒeŋ/ ~ /dʒaɪŋ/	/dʒaɪŋ/
<i>uéh</i> ‘water’	/ueh/ ~ /uaɪh/	/uaɪh/
<i>gép</i> ‘far’	/gep/ ~ /gaɪp/	/gaɪp/
<i>/o/ ~ /aʊ/</i>		
<i>lôt</i> ‘lake, sea’	/lot/ ~ /laut/	/laut/
<i>lô</i> ‘day’	/lo/ ~ /lau/	/lau/
<i>/u/ ~ /aʊ/</i>		
<i>wu</i> ‘fish trap’	/wu/ ~ /wau/	/wau/
<i>bur</i> ‘mountain’	/bur/ ~ /baʊr/	/baʊr/

2.1.2.1 Vowel phonemes and allophonic variation

All of the vowels are nasalised in final (stressed) syllables following a nasal consonant, with the exception of those vowels that follow funny nasals (§2.1.1.2). Vowels in open word-final syllables are phonetically long. There are also a number of vowel harmony rules that affect certain combinations of vowels in a word.

⁵ See §2.1.2.1.4 and §2.4.

2.1.2.1.1 High vowels

High vowels in Gayo are lax when they occur in final syllables that are open or have a voiced consonant coda. High vowels in penultimate syllables are in harmony with the allophonic variant of the same vowel phoneme in a final syllable. The phonetic tense/lax value of the vowel is shared in words in which a high vowel in the final and penultimate syllables is the same phoneme.

i /ɪ/ high front unrounded vowel

→ [i] in final open-syllables or syllables that have a voiced consonant coda

iring /ɪrɪŋ/ [i'riŋ] 'line, row'

kiri /kɪrɪ/ [k'iri:] 'left'

peri /pəɾɪ/ [pə'ri:] 'talk'

→ [ɪ] elsewhere

inɪh /ɪnɪh/ [ɪ'nɪh] 'seedling'

tingkep /tɪŋkəp/ [tɪŋ'kəp] 'window'

unik /ʊnɪk/ [ʊ'nɪk] 'bee'

u /ʊ/ high back rounded vowel

→ [ʊ] in final open syllables or final syllables that have a voiced consonant coda

ulu /ʊlʊ/ [ʊ'lu:] 'head'

mun /mun/ [mũn] 'sneeze'

turun /turun/ [tu'run] 'descend'

→ [ʊ] elsewhere

Munté /munte/ [mʊn'te:] 'Munté' (name of a clan)

beluh /bəluh/ [bə'lʊh] 'go'

kurus /kurus/ [ku'rus] 'thin, emaciated'

2.1.2.1.2 mid-vowel

e /ə/ mid-central unrounded vowel (schwa)

→ [ɤ] in final open syllables

kule /kulə/ [ku'lɤ:] 'tiger'

ume /ʊmə/ [ʊ'mɤ:] 'rice paddy'

and in penultimate syllables of words with a final /ə/ ([ɤ]):

rege /rəgə/ [rɤ'gɤ:] 'price'

genye /gəŋə/ [gɤ'ŋɤ:] 'ganja, marijuana'

→ [ə] elsewhere

penan /pənan/ [pə'nān] 'cake'

seliben /səlɪbən/ [səlɪ'bən] 'eyebrows'

keben /kəbən/ [kə'bən] 'rice barn'

Note that the initial syllable in most trisyllabic roots contains /ə/ (§2.2.3.1).

2.1.2.1.3 High-mid and low-mid vowels

é /e/ high-mid front unrounded vowel

→ [e]

<i>éwé</i> /ewe/	[e'we:]	'wait'
<i>jérét</i> /dʒeret/	[dʒe'ret]	'graveyard'
<i>segé</i> /sæge/	[sə'ge:]	'feverish'

è /ɛ/ low-mid front unrounded vowel

→ [ɛ]

<i>èngon</i> /ɛŋɔn/	[ɛ'ŋɔn]	'see'
<i>kemèl</i> /kəmel/	[kə'mɛl]	'shy'
<i>kasè</i> /kase/	[ka'se:]	'later'

o /ɔ/ high-mid back rounded vowel

→ [ɔ]

<i>ogoh</i> /ɔgɔh/	[ɔ'gɔh]	'stupid'
<i>santon</i> /santɔn/	[san'tɔn]	'collection of mats'
<i>mulo</i> /mulɔ/	[mu'lɔ:]	'first'

ô /o/ low-mid back rounded vowel

→ [o]

<i>ôlôh</i> /oloh/	[o'loh]	'bamboo'
<i>dôdék</i> /dodek/	[do'dek]	'short (of a person)'
<i>lô</i> /lo/	[lo:]	'day'

Certain vowel-harmony rules apply to the high-mid and low-mid vowels. The front vowel combinations é /e/ never occurs in the same word as è /ɛ/. Likewise, o /ɔ/ cannot occur in the same word as ô /o/. Consider example (2-1):

(2-1)	<i>jérét</i> /dʒeret/	'graveyard'	<i>rèbèk</i> /rɛbek/	'rip, tear'
	<i>tété</i> /tete/	'floor'	<i>èlès</i> /eles/	'piece'
	<i>olok</i> /ɔlɔk/	'extreme'	<i>ôlôh</i> /oloh/	'bamboo'
	<i>soboh</i> /sɔbɔh/	'morning'	<i>kôrô</i> /koro/	'buffalo'

This fact can be seen in the allomorphic variation with the causative suffix *-(n)en* (§9.3). This suffix causes sandhi variation of certain final vowels in roots to which it is attached (§2.3.1.1.6). When attached to roots with a final high-mid vowel, the final root vowel is lowered to low-mid position. For example, the transitive verb *i-tirô* 'request' is realised as *i-tiro-n* 'request' with this suffix. Note the change of the root-final vowel from ô to o. In disyllabic roots where both syllables contain ô, the suffixation of the root with *-(n)en* means that both vowels within the root are lowered. For example, the noun *kôrô* 'buffalo', when marked with this suffix to form a verb, is realised as *i-koro-n* 'run buffaloes (over a wet rice paddy)'.

2.1.2.1.4 low vowel /a/

a /a/ low unrounded vowel

- [ə:] in penultimate syllables of words (roots) whose final (i.e. stressed) syllable is closed and contains /ə/:

<i>səbet</i> /səbət/	[sə:'bət]	'companion'
<i>bəden</i> /bədən/	[bə:'dən]	'body'
<i>sədəp</i> /sədəp/	[sə:'dəp]	'scythe'

- [ɤ:] (high-mid rounded back vowel) in penultimate syllables in roots that end with /ə/ ([ɤ:]):

<i>ləde</i> /ladə/	[lɤ:'dɤ:]	'chili'
<i>bəde</i> /badə/	[bɤ:'dɤ:]	'fried banana'
<i>cəmpəge</i> /cəmpagə/	[cəmpɤ:'gɤ:]	'sulphur'

- [a] elsewhere

<i>arap</i> /arap/	[a'rap]	'front'
<i>ama</i> /ama/	[a'mā:]	'father'
<i>osah</i> /ʊsah/	[ʊ'sah]	'give'

Minimal pairs attest the fact that [ə:] in penultimate syllables is an allophone of /a/ and not /ə/, e.g. *sədəp* /sədəp/ [sə:'dəp] 'scythe' and *sedep* /sədəp/ [sə'dəp] 'delicious'; *təbes* /təbəs/ [tə:'bəs] 'cast a spell' and *tebes* /təbəs/ [tə'bəs] 'slash'; *dəre* /darə/ [dɤ:'rɤ:] 'girl, virgin' and *dere* /dərə/ [dɤ'rɤ:] 'hit'. Words containing /a/ ([ə:] or [ɤ:]) in penultimate syllables are mostly borrowings, whose ultimate and penultimate syllables both contain /a/ in the source language. Examples include *rəje* /rajə/ [rɤ:dʒɤ:] 'king' (<M/BI *raja*), *pəger* /pagər/ [pə:'gər] 'fence' (<M/BI *pagar* 'fence'); *bəde* /badə/ [bɤ:'dɤ:] (<Acehnese: *bada* 'fried banana').

The low unrounded vowel /a/ has two orthographic representations. It is represented as *ē* when it is realised as [ə:] (i.e. following the same rules of allophonic variation as /ə/, i.e. [ə] and [ɤ:]) in penultimate syllables of roots whose final syllable contains /ə/. That [ə:] in penultimate syllables is an allophone of /a/ is based on the fact that the two vowels are in complementary distribution. This allophone is never realised as [a] in this environment, as this realisation is based on the fact that the root in which it occurs has a final *e* /ə/, which is not itself subject to variation. Accordingly, I have employed a separate orthographic representation for this vowel. In all other environments /a/ is represented as *a*.

2.1.2.2 Vowel phonemes: minimal pairs

The following minimal pairs establish the phonemic status of phonetically similar vowels:

/a/ ~ /e/	/padɪh/ <i>padih</i>	'just, only'	/pədɪh/ <i>pedih</i>	'very'
/e/ ~ /ɛ/	/ɔnɛ/ <i>oné</i>	'sand'	/ɔnɛ/ <i>onè</i>	'there'
/ə/ ~ /ɛ/	/ʊə/ <i>ue</i>	address term to maternal aunt (Appendix D)	/ʊe/ <i>ué</i>	'rattan cane'

/ɪ/ ~ /ə/	/ɪnɪ/ <i>ini</i>	'this'	/ɪnə/ <i>ine</i>	'mother'
/ɪ/ ~ /e/	/dɛŋkɪ/ <i>dengki</i>	'jealous'	/dɛŋke/ <i>dengké</i>	'meat'
/ɪ/ ~ /ɛ/	/sɪ/ <i>si</i>	'where'	/sɛ/ <i>sè</i>	'now'
/ɔ/ ~ /o/	/lɔh/ <i>loh</i>	'spy'	/loh/ <i>lôh</i>	'tears (from crying)'
/ʊ/ ~ /ɔ/	/tuk/ <i>tuk</i>	'call out'	/tɔk/ <i>tok</i>	'elderly'

2.2 Non-segmental phonology

In this section I describe stress assignment (§2.2.1), intonation (§2.2.2), and phonotactics (§2.2.3).

2.2.1 Stress assignment

2.2.1.1 Lexical stress

Stress in Gayo is predictable and therefore non-phonemic. Stress is characterised by higher pitch and longer duration than unstressed syllables. Gayo has moraic iambic stress, i.e. primary word stress falls on the final syllable of the word; stress is shifting when suffixes are added. In this section, primary stress is indicated by a raised stress mark (') preceding the syllable. Secondary stress falls on the penultimate syllable, i.e. the syllable preceding the syllable bearing primary stress, and is indicated by a lowered stress mark (,):

<i>anak</i>	[a' nāk ¹]	'offspring'
<i>asu</i>	[a' su:]	'dog'
<i>siut</i>	[sɪ' ut ¹]	'burn'
<i>rěje</i>	[rɛ' dʒɛ:]	'king'
<i>iô</i>	[i' jo:]	'afternoon'
<i>petukel</i>	[pə' tu' kə]	'pumpkin'
<i>i-pet-inum-en</i>	[ɪpətɪ, nu' mɛn]	'give water (to an animal)'

Reduplicated forms (§3.5) have double-word stress:

<i>jarak-jarak</i>	(<i>jarak</i> 'far')	[dʒa' rak ¹ - dʒa' rak ¹]	'very far'
<i>pe-tos-tos</i>	(<i>i-tos</i> 'make')	[pə' tɔs - tɔs]	'make up (stories)'
<i>be-cerak-cerak</i>	(<i>be-cerak</i> 'talk')	[bə' tʃə' rak ¹ - tʃə' rak ¹]	'have a chat'

2.2.1.2 Phrase stress

Phrase stress is slightly more pronounced than word stress. Phrase stress is placed on the last word of a phrase, and is indicated in examples (2-2) and (2-3) by [`]:

- (2-2) *empus ni jemà*
 garden POSS person
 'somebody's garden'
- (2-3) *jema si gëre mu-bajù*
 person REL not INTR-shirt
 'a person who has no clothes'

2.2.1.3 Stress within the clause

Clausal stress falls on the constituent that is focused. Clauses with broad focus, i.e. clauses that are prosodically unmarked, are characterised by focal stress on the predicate in intransitive clauses, and on the predicate and subject NP in unmarked transitive clauses. Consider examples (2-4) and (2-5). In these examples, the focused constituent is in **bold**.

(2-4) *Tengah **r[em]jalan** wè.*

CONT INTR-walk 3

'She is walking.'

(2-5) *Nge **i-jerang=è** **kerô=ne**.*

already UO-cook=3.N.SUBJ rice=earlier

'He has cooked the rice.'

Other clauses, in which stress falls on other constituents, are clefted. These are described in §14.7.

2.2.2 Intonation

Intonation is the raising or lowering of pitch at different points of the utterance while speaking. Intonation can signal a wide range of information with regard to the nature of the utterance, conveying contrastive emphasis, surprise, caution, or whether the utterance is a question or a statement. In this section only a brief outline of intonation in Gayo is given. Described are contrasts between declarative and interrogative utterances, and intonation in utterances with constituents in certain non-canonical clause types.

Declarative utterances are characterised by a rising intonation falling at the end of the predicate. There is a low, slightly falling, intonation at the end of the utterance:

(2-6) *Nge **beluh** wè.*
 already go 3
 'S/he has gone.'

In clauses where the subject is fronted (§6.2), the stress contour rises slightly throughout the utterance, and falls utterance-finally.

(2-7) *Wè **nge beluh**.*
 3 already go
 'S/he has gone.'

The intonation of a polar question (§13.2.1) is characterised by an initial rising intonation on the questioned element, followed by a level intonation, and rising utterance-finally:

(2-8) *Gép **ke pulô** Pinang?*
 far INT island Penang
 'Is Penang Island far?' (Linge)

Similarly, content questions (§13.2.2) are characterised by a rising intonation on the focused constituent, followed by a level intonation, and rising utterance-finally. Consider example (2-9):

- (2-9) *Sahan le si n-dere-n=ko?*
 who FOC REL AO-hit-CAUS1=2.N.SUBJ
 'Who struck you?'

2.2.3 Phonotactics

The syllable in Gayo has the structure (C)V(C). Four types of syllable are thus possible. These are listed in Table 2-4:

Table 2-4: Syllable structure

(1)	V	<i>u-lu</i>	'head'
(2)	CV	<i>ma-ta</i>	'eye'
(3)	CVC	<i>bin-tang</i>	'star'
(4)	VC	<i>to-èt</i>	'stretch'

Words in Gayo minimally have the structure CV, e.g. *lô* 'day', *wu* 'fish trap'. Roots are typically mono- or disyllabic, although trisyllabic forms also occur. Consider the following:

1 syllable:	<i>mal</i>	'expensive'	<i>wuk</i>	'hair'
2 syllables:	<i>tikus</i>	'mouse'	<i>merké</i>	'lazy'
3 syllables:	<i>temuluk</i>	'slave'	<i>cempëge</i>	'sulphur'

Any given vowel can occur in root-final syllables (i.e. words with primary or secondary stress). However, in most trisyllabic words an initial syllable contains /ə/.

The expansion of words through affixation can yield words of up to seven syllables, as in the following examples:

4 syllables:	<i>i-cerak-an</i>	'spoken about'
5 syllables:	<i>be-ce-cerak</i>	'talk'
6 syllables:	<i>i-peti-betih-en</i>	'introduced'
7 syllables:	<i>bersi-unuh-unuh-en</i>	'kill each other (many people)'

2.2.3.1 Distribution of phonemes within the syllable

The initial syllable of nearly all Gayo trisyllabic roots contains /ə/. Exceptions to this rule are borrowings from Malay/Bahasa Indonesia that have an initial diphthong in the source language, such as *sudëre* 'companion' (<M/BI *saudara*) and *pasa* '(to) fast' (<M/BI *puasa*). With these borrowings, pretonic vowel reduction means that the second vowel in the combination is dropped in the Gayo word.

All consonants can be syllable onsets. However, there are a number of constraints with regard to which phonemes can occur as syllable codas. As stated above, only ultimate and penultimate syllables can have codas, while initial syllables of trisyllabic words cannot.

Codas in final syllables must be non-palatal and obstruents must be voiceless. Nasals can also be syllable codas. Nasal codas in penultimate syllables homorganically assimilate to the position of an onset in the final syllable.

2.2.3.2 Vowel combinations

The occurrence of certain vowels in final onsetless syllables is restricted according to which vowel precedes it in a preceding open syllable. These co-occurrence restrictions are listed with examples in Table 2-5. Vowels in the columns represent vowels in the penultimate syllable, and vowels in the rows represent vowels in the final syllable.

Table 2-5: Co-occurrence restrictions on vowels

↓ PENULTIMATE SYLLABLE		← FINAL SYLLABLE →							
CV:	VC:	/a/	/ə/	/ɔ/	/u/	/o/	/e/	/ʊ/	/ɛ/
/ɪ/ e.g.		/ɪa/ <i>biak</i> 'sibling'	/ɪə/ <i>sien</i> 'here'	/ɪɔ/ <i>iok</i> 'caterpillar'	/ɪu/ <i>siut</i> 'burn'	/ɪo/ <i>iō</i> 'evening'			
/ɛ/ e.g.				/ɛɔ/ <i>kəong</i> 'kind of shellfish'					
/ɔ/ e.g.		/ɔa/ <i>poa</i> 'salt'							/ɔɛ/ <i>poèn</i> 'mixed vegetables'
/u/ e.g.		/ua/ <i>uak</i> 'medicine'	/uə/ <i>kuen</i> 'right'				/ue/ <i>ué</i> 'rattan'	/ui/ <i>luis</i> 'pain'	

2.2.3.3 Epenthetic schwa

A consonant cluster cannot occur word-initially. A word-initial nasal + plosive combination is preceded by an epenthetic schwa, forming an onsetless syllable which takes the nasal as its coda, leaving the final syllable as CVC, e.g. *enti* 'don't', *engkip* 'full', and *empus* 'garden'.⁶ However, with a cliticised preposition (§11) or an attached prefix, the schwa is lost, as demonstrated in example (2-10):

- (2-10) *Wè gère mu-mpus.*
 3 not INTR-garden
 'He doesn't have a garden.' (*empus* 'garden')

Words that historically contained a consonant + nasal combination, i.e. that later became funny nasals (§2.2.3.3), have a schwa-initial variant, as demonstrated in (2-11):

- (2-11) *emèh* ↔ *mèh* 'finished, used up' (</əmbəh/, /əmfəh/)
emun ↔ *mun* 'cloud' (</əmbun/, /əmfun/)

⁶ Hazeu (1907) represents these roots as *nti*, *ngkip*, and *mpus* respectively.

Another environment in which an epenthetic schwa is inserted by default is in the initial syllable of three-syllable roots. Many three-syllable roots are underlyingly two-syllable roots with an initial consonant cluster. Roots with an underlying initial plosive + liquid combination insert schwa between the two. For example, *keramil* 'coconut', *perang* 'war', and *pelén* 'only' are listed in Hazeu (1907) as *krambil*, *prang*, and *plén* respectively.

2.2.4 Phonological variation in roots

In onsetless open syllables the high vowels *i* and *u* are often realised as glides. In this environment the high-front vowel *i* is realised as *y*; for example, *iok* 'poisonous caterpillar' is in free variation with *yok*. The high-back vowel *u* is often realised as *w*; for example, *uah* 'fruit' and *uéh* 'water' are in free variation with *wah* and *wéh*.

When these words form part of a larger affixed formation and the phonotactic structure is altered, glide formation does not occur, e.g. *mun-iok-en* 'poison' and *mun-uéh-en* 'water (a rice-paddy)'.

2.3 Morphophonemic variation

In this section morphophonemic variation in clitics and affixes is described, as well as sandhi variation in roots.

2.3.1 Allomorphy

In this section I describe allomorphic variation. The functions of individual affixes are described in Chapters 6, 7, and 8. Rules of allomorphic variation in Gayo often apply to more than one affix. Affixes that share the same rules of allomorphic variation are described together in the same section. In the following sections the allomorphs are in **bold**.

2.3.1.1 Affixes

2.3.1.1.1 *ber-*, *ter-*, and *per-*

The prefixes *ber* (§7.2), *ter-* (§8.5), temporal extension *per-* (§7.5), causative *per-* (§9.4), and the prefixed elements of the circumfixes *ber-... (n)en* (§7.3), and *per-... (n)en* (§4.2.3.4) have the following allomorphic variation.

be-, *te-*, and *pe-*, when attached to a C-initial root. The final *r* of the prefix is deleted:

<i>ber-</i>	MID:	<i>be-pong</i>	'make friends'
<i>ter-</i>	UO.DC:	<i>te-pangan</i>	'accidentally eat'
<i>per-</i>	CAUS2:	<i>i-pe-betih</i>	'make known'
<i>pe-</i>	T.EXT:	<i>pe-tirô</i>	'always be asking for things'

The temporal extension prefix and the causative prefix, both of which have the form *per-*, are realised as *p-* when attached to reduplicated V-initial bases:

<i>per-</i>	CAUS2:	<i>i-p-ogoh-ogoh</i>	'make look like a fool'
<i>pe-</i>	T.EXT:	<i>p-oncos-oncos</i>	'piss here and there'

2.3.1.1.2 *mun-*

The actor prefix *mun-* has a number of allomorphic variants. These are described in the following.

mum- when attached to roots of two or more syllables with an initial *p*, *p* is deleted:

<i>mumikir</i> (<i>pikir</i>)	‘think’
<i>mumongot</i> (<i>pongot</i>)	‘weep’

mun- when attached to:

(a) V-initial roots:

<i>mun-èjer</i>	‘teach’
<i>mun-inget</i>	‘remember’

(b) roots with an initial *t*, *t* is deleted:

<i>munos</i> (<i>tos</i>)	‘make (s.t.)’
<i>munulis</i> (<i>tulis</i>)	‘write’

(c) disyllabic roots with an initial *s* where the onset of the second syllable is *s*, root-initial *s* is deleted:

<i>munusu</i> (<i>susu</i>)	‘drink milk’
<i>munesah</i> (<i>sesah</i>)	‘wash clothes’

muny- when attached to:

(a) disyllabic roots with an initial *c*, root-initial *c* is deleted:

<i>munyeding</i> (<i>ceding</i>)	‘remove husks (i.e. from rice etc.)’
<i>munyecah</i> (<i>cecah</i>)	‘make <i>cecah</i> (kind of traditional dish)’

(b) disyllabic roots with an initial *s* where the onset of the second syllable is not *s*, root-initial *s* is deleted:

<i>munyèder</i> (<i>sèder</i>)	‘say’
<i>munyalit</i> (<i>salit</i>)	‘smear’

mung- when attached to roots with an initial *k*, where the vowel in the first syllable of a disyllabic root, or the vowel in a monosyllabic root is a V other than *i*:

<i>mungèber</i> (<i>kèber</i>)	‘convey news’
<i>mungét</i> (<i>két</i>)	‘bite’

mune- when attached to:

(a) monosyllabic roots that have an initial *c*, *s*, *p*, voiced plosive, or nasal:

<i>mune-cét</i>	‘paint’
<i>mune-sop</i>	‘make soup’
<i>mune-nyas</i>	‘plane (timber)’
<i>mune-pong-en</i>	‘accompany’
<i>mune-bom</i>	‘bomb’

(b) monosyllabic roots that have the initial sequence *ki*:

<i>mune-kik</i>	'go fishing'
<i>mune-king-en</i>	'strengthen'

With all of the allomorphs of this prefix described so far, the initial *mu* element of the prefix is typically deleted in casual speech. Thus, the following forms are in free variation:

<i>mumëger</i>	~ <i>mëger</i>	'make fences'
<i>munyelé</i>	~ <i>nyelé</i>	'roast'
<i>mungét (két)</i>	~ <i>ngét</i>	'bite'
<i>munulis (tulis)</i>	~ <i>nulis</i>	'write'
<i>mune-cét</i>	~ <i>ne-cét</i>	'paint'

There is one further allomorph of this prefix that does not have such variation. This is as follows:

mu- when attached to:

(a) roots with an initial voiced consonant.

<i>mu-bedil</i>	'shoot'
<i>mu-jét</i>	'sew'
<i>mu-geléh</i>	'slaughter'
<i>mu-lelang</i>	'cut weeds (in a garden)'
<i>mu-nipi</i>	'dream'

(b) bases already bearing the causative prefix *per-* (§9.4), or the facilitative circumfix *peti-...-(n)en* (§9.5).

<i>mu-pe-nyanya</i>	'make difficult'
<i>mu-peti-betih-en</i>	'introduce'

The form ***mu-*** is often realised as a nasal that is homorganically assimilated to the position of an initial obstruent C of a base to which it is attached, and the V is deleted. The following are examples.

<i>mu-bedil</i>	~ <i>m-bedil</i>	'shoot'
<i>mu-dere</i>	~ <i>n-dere</i>	'hit'
<i>mu-jerang</i>	~ <i>n(y)-jerang</i>	'cook'
<i>mu-geléh</i>	~ <i>ng-geléh</i>	'slaughter'

2.3.1.1.3 *pen-*

The prefix *pen-* occurs on its own as the instrumental prefix (§4.2.3.1), or as the initial element of the undergoer nominal circumfix *pen-...-(n)en* (§4.2.3.5). Like *mun-*, when attached to many roots that feature an initial voiceless plosive, the nasal in *pen-* is assimilated for place, and the root-initial plosive is dropped. However, there are many differences in the rules of variation between the two prefixes, and for this reason, *pen-* is described separately here. The allomorphic variants of *pen-* are described in the following.

pem- when attached to:

- (a) roots with an initial *b*.

<i>pem-belah</i>	'axe'
<i>pem-betih-en</i>	'knowledge, what is known'

- (b) disyllabic roots with an initial *p*, and the onset of the second syllable is a consonant other than *ng*, root-initial *p* is deleted.

<i>pemecah-an (pecah)</i>	'family descendents'
<i>pemikir-en (pikir)</i>	'a thought'

pen- when attached to:

- (a) V-initial roots.

<i>pen-iup</i>	'pipe used for blowing on a fire'
<i>pen-uet-en</i>	'an amount of harvested rice'

- (b) roots with an initial *d*.

<i>pen-dere</i>	'stick used for hitting'
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- (c) disyllabic roots with an initial *j*.

<i>pen-jelbang-an</i>	'cultivated land'
<i>pen-jelgit</i>	'stick used to get fruit from high up in a tree'

- (d) roots with an initial *t*, root-initial *t* is deleted.

<i>penengkam (tengkam)</i>	'trap'
<i>penekar-an (tekar)</i>	'discarded waste'

- (e) disyllabic roots with an initial *s* where the onset of the second syllable is *s*, root-initial *s* is deleted.

<i>penesah (sesah)</i>	'washerwoman'
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- (f) disyllabic roots with an initial *p*, where the onset of the second syllable is a velar nasal.

<i>penengé (pengé)</i>	'faculty of hearing'
<i>penangang (pangang)</i>	'stick used for roasting food over a fire'

peny- when attached to:

- (a) disyllabic roots with an initial *s*, the root-initial *s* is deleted.

<i>penyapu (sapu)</i>	'broom'
<i>penyëder-en (sëder)</i>	'something said'

peng- when attached to:

- (a) disyllabic roots with an initial *g*.

<i>peng-gosok</i>	'iron (i.e. for ironing clothing)'
<i>peng-geléh</i>	'knife used for slaughtering'

(b) disyllabic roots with an initial *k*, root-initial *k* is deleted.

<i>pengerut</i> (<i>kerut</i>)	'razor for shaving'
<i>pengoro-n</i> (<i>kôrô</i>)	'ploughed rice paddy'

pene- when attached to roots with monosyllabic bases, that have an initial *p*, *c*, *j*, *s*, or voiced plosive.

<i>pene-cét</i>	'paint brush'
<i>pene-jét-en</i>	'piece of sewing'

2.3.1.1.4 *mu-*

The intransitive prefix *mu-* (§7.4) has the following allomorphic variation:

m- when attached to V-initial roots.

<i>m-ipon</i>	'have teeth'
<i>m-oncos</i>	'urinate'

mu- when attached to C-initial roots.

<i>mu-règom</i>	'have remains of chewed betelnut on one's face'
<i>mu-tuh</i>	'fall'

In casual speech, *mu-* is frequently expressed as a homorganic nasal when it is attached to roots with an initial plosive:

<i>mu-pong</i> ~ <i>m-pong</i>	'have friends'
<i>mu-tuh</i> ~ <i>n-tuh</i>	'fall'
<i>mu-kôl</i> ~ <i>ng-kôl</i>	'grow big'

With certain roots *mu-* is realised as the infix *-em-*. This variation is lexically determined, and is described in §7.4.

2.3.1.1.5 *-(n)en*

Both causative *-(n)en* (§6.5.1) and comparative *-(n)en* (§9.3), as well as the suffixed element of the verbal circumfixes *ber-...-(n)en* (§7.3), *bersi-...-(n)en* (§7.6), *ke-...-(n)en* (§7.7) and *peti-...-(n)en* (§9.5), and the noun-deriving affixes *-en-...-(n)en* (§4.2.3.2), *-(n)en* (§4.2.3.3), *per-...-(n)en* (§4.2.3.4), and *pen-...-(n)en* (§4.2.3.5) have a number of allomorphic variants. These are outlined in the following.

-nen when attached to V-final roots:

<i>i-ayo-nen</i>	'enter (VT)'
<i>i-kerje-nen</i>	'marry off'
<i>i-peti-siwe-nen</i>	'rent out'
<i>bersi-dere-nen</i>	'hit each other'

-nan when attached to roots with a final *a* (i.e. vowel harmony):

<i>i-sangka-nan</i>	'kidnap'
<i>i-rasa-nan</i>	'feel'
<i>mera-nan</i>	'be more willing to ...'

The forms *-nen* and *-nan* are often reduced to *-n*, which is in free variation with the longer forms. Thus the forms listed above can also be expressed as the following:

<i>i-ayo-n</i>	'enter (transitive)'
<i>i-kerje-n</i>	'marry off'
<i>i-peti-siwe-n</i>	'rent out'
<i>bersi-dere-n</i>	'hit each other'
<i>i-sangka-n</i>	'kidnap'
<i>pe-rège-n</i>	'playground'
<i>mera-n</i>	'be more willing to ...'

-en when attached to C-final roots whose final syllable contains a vowel other than *a*:

<i>i-geléh-en</i>	'slaughter'
<i>bersi-betih-en</i>	'know each other'
<i>hèk-en</i>	'very tired'

-an when attached to C-final roots whose final syllable contains the vowel *a*:

<i>i-sawah-an</i>	'deliver'
<i>bersi-cerak-an</i>	'talk to each other'
<i>porak-an</i>	'very hot'

The causative suffix *-(n)en* (§9.3) has two variant forms that distinguish it from other morphemes. Firstly, when the causative suffix is attached to C-final roots and has an attached third person enclitic, i.e. *=è*, it is realised as *-n*. Consider example (2-12):

- (2-12) *I-geléh-n=è* *kôrô*.
 UO-slaughter-CAUSI=3.N.SUBJ buffalo
 'S/he slaughtered a buffalo.'

Secondly, when a word is marked with the causative suffix, and is followed by an independent NP non-subject argument, the causative suffix is realised as *-ni*. Consider examples (2-13) and (2-14):

- (2-13) *I-tuang-ni* *Jenaka arang sara guni*.
 UO-spill-CAUSI Jenaka coal one sack
 'Jenaka spilled out a sackful of coal.' (IK:143)
- (2-14) *Tuhen mu-jöger-ni penyakét=é te-tir*.
 God AO-heal-CAUSI INSTR:sick=3.POSS RED-fast
 'God healed her malady quickly.'

2.3.1.1.6 *-(n)en* and Sandhi

Sandhi, or 'regressive assimilation' (Matthews 1974) occurs when the suffix *-(n)en* is attached to certain V-final roots. This suffix causes lowering of certain word-final vowels. This is demonstrated in the following, with examples that contain the causative suffix, the comparative, and the suffixed element of the nominalising circumfix *per-...-(n)en*:

- i* → *é* e.g. *i-belé-n* 'buy' (*i-beli* 'buy'), *i-peré-n* 'said' (*be-peri* 'say')
- é* → *è* e.g. *panè-n* 'cleverer' (*pané* 'clever'), *i-nomè-n* 'lay down' (*nomé* 'lie down')

ô → o e.g. *pe-ranto-n* 'place travelled to' (*mu-rantô* 'travel'), *i-koro-n* 'ploughed' (*mungôrô* 'plough')

2.3.1.1.7 *mun-...-(n)en*

With the frequentative circumfix *mun-...-(n)en* (§4.4.1.2), the prefixed element is realised as *mun-* with V initial bases, and *mu-* with C-initial bases. The suffixed element has the same variation as described in §2.3.1.1.5 and §2.3.1.1.6. Examples of the frequentative adverbs include *mu-roa-n* 'twice', *mu-tulu-n* 'three times', *mun-opat-an* 'four times' and *mu-sepuluh-en* 'ten times'.

2.3.1.2 Clitics

2.3.1.2.1 Third person non-subject enclitic =è

The third person non-subject enclitic =è (§10.1.2) has two variant forms. The height of the V is raised to =é when cliticised to words ending in the high vowel *i*:

(2-15) *I-beli=é* *kerô.*
 UO-buy=3.N.SUBJ cooked.rice
 'S/he bought some rice.'

(2-16) *I-kedik-i=é* *aku.*
 UO-laugh-LOC=3.N.SUBJ 1
 'They laughed at me.'

=wé after words with a final *é*. The position of the V within the clitic is raised due to the influence of the final V in the verb to which it is cliticised:

(2-17) *I-pengé=wé* *aku.*
 UO-hear=3.N.SUBJ 1
 'S/he heard me.'

=è after words with a final vowel other than *i* or *é*, or a final consonant:

(2-18) *I-tulis=è* *suret.*
 UO-write=3.N.SUBJ letter.
 'S/he wrote a letter.'

2.3.1.2.2 Third person possessive enclitic =é

The third person possessive enclitic =é has the following variant forms:⁷

=wé when attached to words with a final *é*.⁸

até=wé 'his/her liver' (*até* 'liver')
umé=wé 'his/her parent-in-law' (*umé* 'parent-in-law')

⁷ Note that with this clitic, a final consonant is geminate, e.g. *anak=é* 'his/her child' (*anak* 'offspring'), *umah=é* 'his/her house' (*umah* 'house'), *kiding=é* 'his/her foot' (*kiding* 'foot').

⁸ See note 5 of this chapter.

=*é* when attached to all other words:

<i>empus</i> = <i>é</i>	'his/her garden' (<i>empus</i> 'garden')
<i>peri</i> = <i>é</i>	'what s/he said' (<i>be-peri</i> 'talk')

When attached to words with a final *-en* or *-an*, the V in the final syllable of the base is deleted:

<i>pe-cerak-n</i> = <i>é</i>	'what s/he said' (<i>pe-cerak-an</i> 's.t. said')
<i>pikir-n</i> = <i>é</i>	'his/her thoughts' (<i>pikir-en</i> 'thoughts')
<i>kuburn</i> = <i>é</i>	'his/her grave' (<i>kuburen</i> 'grave')

2.3.1.2.3 First person possessive enclitic =(ng)ku

The first person possessive enclitic =(ng)ku has the following variant forms:

=*ngku* when cliticised to V-final words.

<i>ume</i> = <i>ngku</i>	'my rice paddy' (<i>ume</i> 'rice paddy')
<i>buku</i> = <i>ngku</i>	'my book'

=*ku* when cliticised to C-final words.

<i>umah</i> = <i>ku</i>	'my house' (<i>umah</i> 'house')
<i>nasip</i> = <i>ku</i>	'my fate' (<i>nasip</i> 'fate')

When this clitic is attached to words with certain Vs that occur word-finally, the Vs are lowered. These follow the same pattern as the variation in final Vs with the suffix *-(n)en* (§2.3.1.1.5):

<i>i</i> → <i>é</i>	<i>nipé</i> = <i>ngku</i> 'my dream' (<i>nipi</i> 'dream')
<i>é</i> → <i>è</i>	<i>até</i> = <i>ngku</i> 'my liver' (<i>até</i> 'liver')
<i>ô</i> → <i>o</i>	<i>koro</i> = <i>ngku</i> 'my buffalo' (<i>kôrô</i> 'buffalo')

2.3.1.2.4 Determiner enclitics

The determiners =*a* 'that', =*ni* 'this' (clitic form of *ini*, (§4.4.5)), and *sine/* =*ne* 'earlier' (§4.4.1.1) cause sandhi variation in words ending with *en*. With such words, the *e* in the final syllable is deleted. Consider example (2-19):

(2-19)	= <i>ni</i> 'this'	<i>Toèrni</i> (<i>Toèren</i> Village in Gayo)
	= <i>a</i> 'that'	<i>Takèngn</i> = <i>a</i> (<i>Takèngen</i> Main town in Gayo)
	= <i>ne</i> 'earlier'	<i>Bebesne</i> (<i>Bebesen</i> Region in Gayo)

The only variation within a determiner clitic occurs with =*a* 'that' (clitic form of *oya*, §4.4.5). This has the following variant forms:

=*wa* when attached to words with a final *a*:

<i>jema</i> = <i>wa</i>	'that person' (<i>jema</i> 'person')
<i>mata</i> = <i>wa</i>	'those eyes'

=*a* when attached to all other words:

<i>beru</i> = <i>a</i>	'that girl'
<i>manuk</i> = <i>a</i>	'that bird'

2.4 Orthographic issues

The Gayo have no writing tradition in their own language, unlike the neighbouring Acehnese, who adopted the Arabic-based *Jawi* writing system, and later a Latin-based orthography, for their language. Education for the Gayo was traditionally undertaken in the coastal Acehnese-speaking areas, where Malay was the language of education and prestige. Accordingly, literacy for the Gayo was traditionally in Malay. Literacy in Gayo society is discussed in detail in §1.1.5.

The Latin script was introduced into the region during the Dutch colonial period. The earliest recordings of Gayo in the Latin script were made by Snouck Hurgronje (1892 – cited in Durie 1985) and G.A.J. Hazeu (1907), who employed the Dutch-based Malay orthography with the addition of some vowel diacritics. There is no standard orthography for Gayo. A few publications, such as linguistic studies carried out by Syiah Kuala University (e.g. Baihaqi 1977; Syamsuddin 1979), and collections of sayings and folk tales (e.g. Aman Pinan 1993), employ the standard orthography for Bahasa Indonesia, with a single additional diacritic *é* representing both /e/ and /ɛ/. Melalatoa (1982) distinguishes these two phonemes with the characters *é* and *è* respectively. Bowen (1991, 1993) identifies further distinctions, *ē* representing the [ə:] allophone of /a/ and *e* representing /ə/. However, Bowen's distinction is phonetic, not phonemic. He also represents the [e:] allophone of /ə/ (i.e. word-final /ə/) with *ë*. As such, there is some redundancy in the use of this character in Bowen's transcriptions of Gayo text. In this grammar, *ë* is used to represent /a/ in penultimate syllables where it is realised as [ə:]. Finally, in this grammar /ɔ/ and /o/ are represented by *o* and *ô* respectively, a convention borrowed from the standard Acehnese orthography developed by scholars at Universitas Syiah Kuala, Banda Aceh, as outlined in a seminar report *Hasil Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Aceh* published by Universitas Syiah Kuala (cited in Durie 1985).

3 *Morphological and syntactic units and relations*

This chapter contains an outline of the basic morphological and syntactic units and relations that are employed in this grammar. In §3.1 criteria defining the word and its components are outlined. Particles and clitics are described in §3.2 and §3.3 respectively. In § 3.4 I describe compounds, and in §3.5, reduplicated forms. Finally, in §3.6 grammatical relations in Gayo are introduced.

3.1 Word

The concept of 'word' can be defined on the basis of phonological and morphosyntactic criteria (Matthews 1974; Dixon 1988). Phonological criteria for the word in Gayo include the fact that the word is the domain in which primary stress occurs on its final syllable, and it is the domain in which morphophonemic processes such as vowel harmony occur. Morphosyntactic criteria include the fact that the order of words in a clause can vary to some extent, while the order of other units such as affixes and clitics cannot. Words are also distinguished by the fact that they can be modified by particles (§3.2) and can host clitics (§3.3).

The word is the 'minimum free form' (Bloomfield 1933:178). The 'freedom' of the word distinguishes it from the other grammatical units in Gayo, i.e. clitics, affixes and particles, which are phonologically or grammatically dependent on a host root or word. Words are 'free' units in the sense that they may be uttered on their own as meaningful utterances. In example (3-1), *aku*, *nge* and *mangan* are three words:

- (3-1) *Aku nge mangan.*
1 already AO:eat
'I have eaten.'

Each of these words may be stressed, for example for emphasis. It is possible to pause at any point between words, and each word may also each be uttered as a response to a question, as in examples (3-2) to (3-4):

- (3-2) Q: *Sahan nge mangan?* A: *Aku.*
 who already AO:eat 1
 'Who has eaten?' 'Me.'

- (3-3) Q: *Nge ke mangan ko?* A: *Nge.*
 already INT AO:eat 2 already
 'Have you eaten?' 'Yes.'
- (3-4) Q: *Sana buet=mu sine?* A: *Mangan.*
 what work=2.POSS earlier AO:eat
 'What were you doing earlier?' 'Eating.'

The ordering of words in relation to each other is not strictly fixed, and they may be rearranged for pragmatic purposes. The position of units other than the word in Gayo i.e. clitics, affixes and particles, is fixed in relation to other 'host' elements upon which they are dependent, i.e. words, clauses or sentences. Gayo words are often morphologically complex, consisting of a root plus one or more affixes. Morphosyntactic words in Gayo constitute 'lexemes', i.e. the fundamental unit of the lexicon in the language (Matthews 1974). There is no inflectional morphology in Gayo; all affixed words constitute separate lexical entries from their base. In the following I describe the various components of the word.

3.1.1 Root and base

The notion of 'root' is important in Gayo, as is typical of many other Austronesian languages (Foley 1976). Roots are morphologically simple units, which express the bulk of the lexical information of a word. Affixes are attached to roots to form morphologically complex words. Roots in Gayo can consist of one, two or three syllables. The formal properties of Gayo roots are described in §2.2.3.

The notion of 'base' refers to either a simple or a complex element that is subject to further affixation. For example, (3-5) contains the root *anak* 'offspring'. The noun *anak-anak-an* 'doll' is a morphologically complex base (it is also a word in its own right) to which the verbal prefix *ber-* is attached to derive a new word:

- (3-5) *ber-[anak-anak-an]*
 MID-[RED-offspring-NOM]
 'play with dolls'

Example (3-6) contains the root *bengis* 'angry (VI)'. The valence-increasing suffix *-i* is attached to this root to derive a transitive verb, *-bengis-i*. This constitutes the base to which the undergoer voice prefix *i-* is attached:

- (3-6) *I-bengis-i ama abang.*
 UO-angry-LOC father older.brother
 'Father got angry with older brother.'

3.1.2 Affixes

Affixes are phonologically and grammatically tightly bound to their host, forming part of the word to which they are attached. Affixes convey syntactic and abstract semantic information about the word of which they form part. Affixes exhibit a high degree of morphophonemic variation. Gayo has a number of prefixes, suffixes, infixes, and two

types of confix: those consisting of an infix + suffix; and circumfixes (prefix + suffix). Affixes are attached to nouns, verbs, and word of minor classes to derive nouns, verbs, and adverbs.

Gayo features a range of nominal affixes, which derive nouns from verbs and other nouns; and three types of verbal affixes: (1) intransitive affixes, (2) voice affixes, and (3) valence-increasing affixes. Intransitive affixes form intransitive verbs, signalling semantic information about the event described by the affixed verb. Voice affixes are attached to transitive verbs to signal actor or undergoer orientation, and the decontrol undergoer prefix *ter-* signals the additional semantic elements of decontrol or (in)ability. The valence-increasing affixes derive transitive verbs from nominal as well as transitive and intransitive verb roots, often licensing an oblique argument to direct argument status. These affixes signal that the undergoer is more tightly bound to the event, and can signal intensity or iterativity.

There is no inflectional affixation in Gayo. All three types of verbal affixes can attach to free nominal and verbal roots to derive new lexemes (e.g. *mu-rokok* 'smoke (V)' (*rokok* 'cigarette (N)')). The notion of derivation is, however, problematic with regard to the affixation of bound roots, which never surface as syntactic words without affixation. Affixes in Gayo form part of the lexical word to which they are attached. While they have a derivational function with free roots, attached to bound roots they form words without any derivational process having taken place (Clynes 1995:301–302). Derivation does not necessarily involve affixation as in the example of verbal roots, which can function as nouns after having first undergone zero derivation. Nor does affixation necessarily indicate that derivation has taken place, as in the case of affixed bound roots.

3.2 Particles

Particles are units that fulfil the minimal phonological criteria for the category of word, but are morphosyntactically dependent on a host element, which can be a word, a clause or a sentence. Such is their grammatical dependence on their host that they cannot occur in isolation as meaningful utterances, as words can. As such, they do not fulfil the minimal criteria for the status of word. Particles specify abstract discourse information such as focus or illocutionary force, or grammatical information such as possession or subordination. Unlike words, the ordering and position of a particle with respect to other units in the clause is restricted. Unlike clitics, they do not belong to the major categories of noun and verb, and although their position preceding or following their host is fixed, they are not necessarily positioned adjacent to their host nor are they phonologically conditioned by their host.

Different kinds of particles are described throughout this grammar, and are generally categorised according to their domain of modification or their grammatical function. There is a range of different types of particles, including prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, and a range of other particles. These are briefly introduced in the following sections, and described in more detail in various sections throughout this grammar.

3.2.1 Prepositions

Prepositions function as the heads of prepositional phrases. Some of the prepositions can be cliticised to their complements in certain phonologically conditioned environments.

For example, *ter Jemat* 'on Friday' can also be realised as *te=Jemat*. PPs typically encode clausal adjuncts, as in example (3-7). In the following examples, the PPs are in **bold**.

- (3-7) *Ara sara mersah i onè.*
 EXIST one small.mosque LOC there
 'There is a mosque at that place (lit. at there).' (Depik)

They can function as predicates, as in (3-8), as oblique arguments, as in (3-9), or they can occupy the descriptive slot of a complex NP, as in (3-10):

- (3-8) *Wè i onè.*
 3 LOC there
 'He is at that place.' (lit. 'He is at there'.)

- (3-9) *Kemèl aku kin ko*
 shy I DAT 2
 'I am shy of you.'

- (3-10) *Motor ku Belangkejerèn.*
 vehicle to Belangkejerèn
 'The bus to Belangkejerèn.'

Prepositions and prepositional phrases are described in detail in §11.

3.2.2 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used to mark coordinated constituents at the level of the phrase, clause and sentence. Coordinating conjunctions are described in §16.3, and are exemplified in (3-11) and (3-12). In these examples the conjunctions are in **bold**.

- (3-11) *Aku urum Inen Mayak n-èngon=è.*
 I and Inen Maya AO-see=3.N.SUBJ
 'Inen Mayak and I saw it.'

- (3-12) *Cume ton dong=é si berbèda tapè sara belah.*
 only place reside=3.POSS REL different but one Clan
 'Only the place where they live is different, but (they are) one clan.' (IK:79)

Conjunctions can also mark subordinate clauses. Example (3-13) contains the conjunction *bahwa*, which marks complement clauses:

- (3-13) *Ku-inget bahwa i-tos=è rerum mané.*
 UO.1-remember that UO-make=3.N.SUBJ k.o.sweet yesterday
 'I remembered that she made rerum yesterday.'

Conjunctions are described in detail in §16.

3.2.3 Various other particles

There is a wide range of particles in Gayo that are used to modify words, phrases and larger units of discourse. The possessive particle *ni* is described in §10.3. Various adverbial particles are described throughout this grammar, e.g. particles that modify

number phrases in §10.2.2, predicate-modifying particles in §12.3, and discourse particles in §12.4.

3.3 Clitics

Clitics, in contrast with particles, fulfil the morphosyntactic criteria for wordhood, but not the minimal phonological criteria. They also differ from particles by the fact that many clitics belong to the major word-classes noun and verb. The general feature that distinguishes clitics from affixes is that clitics are attached to phrases rather than words. They also differ from affixes in that they are not as selective of their hosts as affixes are (Zwicky & Pullum 1983). Gayo has both proclitics and enclitics. Two distinct subtypes of clitics can be distinguished in Gayo: pronominal clitics, which are the morphological expression of the arguments of a clause; and reduced-word clitics, which are based on phonologically weakened words that are cliticised to an adjacent phrase.

3.3.1 Pronominal clitics

The pronominal clitics are ‘dependent pronouns’ (Klamer 1998:68). They are obligatorily bound to their head noun phrase or verb phrase, conveying information about person, number and syntactic function of one of the core arguments of a clause. Pronominal clitics cannot be replaced by an independent pronominal form. They represent non-subject arguments or possessive pronouns. They do not index an independent NP within the clause as pronominal clitics do in many other Austronesian languages, such as Acehnese (Durie 1985).

3.3.2 Reduced-word clitics

Apart from the pronominal clitics, there are a number of other clitics that are phonologically reduced forms of adverbs or prepositions. These reduced-word clitics differ from the pronominal clitics in that they are in free variation with their full word form. For example, the temporal adverb *sine* ‘earlier’ (§4.4.1.1), which in (3-14) functions as a determiner within a complex NP (§10.5.2), can also be expressed as the clitic *=ne* and attached to the preceding constituent without a change in function, as in (3-15):

- (3-14) *Perangé ni anak=ni sine jeroh pedih.*
behaviour POSS offspring=this earlier good very
‘This child’s behaviour was very good.’ (Métun)

- (3-15) *Ine=é=ne beluh mun-angô uéh.*
mother=3.POSS=earlier go AO-fetch water
‘His mother went looking for water.’ (Métun)

3.4 Compounds

Compounding involves the combining of two or three words to form new words. The head of the compound is the element that determines the word class to which the compound belongs—in Gayo it is the left-most element. Thus a compound which consists of noun +

verb is a noun. The elements of a compound are represented orthographically in this grammar as separate words. Consider example (3-16), which contains a compound consisting of two elements:

- (3-16) *sabun nesah*
 soap AO:wash.clothes
 'soap for washing clothes'

Although rare, compounds can also consist of three elements:

- (3-17) *uyet mati kulit*
 vine dead skin
 'dried out vines (for tying things).'

In the following sections I describe compound nouns (§3.4.1), certain compound verbs (§3.4.2), and dvandva compounds (§3.4.3).

3.4.1 Compound nouns

Compound nouns are single phonological words that receive primary stress on their final syllable. Compound nouns are composed of a noun base with generic reference, followed by a noun or verb base with specific reference. The generic and specific elements are syntactically bound, forming a single grammatical word. This is illustrated in (3-18):

- (3-18) *Urang Gayô*
 person Gayo
 GENERIC SPECIFIC
 'Gayo person'

Often the meaning of a compound noun is highly lexicalised and cannot be determined from the sum of its parts. Consider example (3-19):

- (3-19) *ipak putih*
 girl white
 'naughty girl' (lit. 'white girl')

In some cases the word that functions as the specific element is lexicalised within a compound, and never occurs independently. For example, in (3-20), the specific element *tèn* cannot occur in any other structure, neither as an NP head, nor in a compound with a different generic element:

- (3-20) *tikus tèn*
 mouse ??
 'mouse that has entered one's house'

Many nouns that function as the head of a compound have less specific reference than if they occurred on their own as the head of an NP. For example, when *batang* 'tree trunk' is used in compound constructions it refers to 'trees' in general:

- (3.21) *batang keramil*
 tree coconut
 'coconut palm (tree)'

In (3-22), *batang* functions alone as the head of a complex NP modified by a possessive phrase. In this case, *batang* has more specific reference, meaning ‘tree trunk’:

- (3.22) *batang ni keramil*
 tree.trunk POSS coconut
 ‘trunk of a coconut palm (tree)’

In some cases the semantics of a word differs markedly between its use as the head of a compound and as an independent word. For example, the noun *gulé* ‘edible fish’ is used as the first element in a compound to denote specific types of edible fish: *gulé depik* ‘depik fish’, *gulé yu* ‘shark’, *gulé m-asén* ‘salted fish’. *Gulé* is also used as a generic element for all non-vegetable accompaniments to rice,¹ e.g. *gulé dengké* ‘meat’ and *gulé kurik* ‘chicken’. The term *gulé iken*² can be used when referring specifically to a fish accompaniment to rice in contrast with other kinds of side dishes.

The formal and semantic distinction between compounds and complex NPs is sometimes minimal. For example, whether the form in (3-23) is a compound or a complex NP can only be determined by the stress patterns outlined in §2.2.1. Compounds are single phonological words, while a complex NPs consist of multiple phonological words that form phrases.

- (3-23) *jema tue*
 person old
 ‘old person’ OR: ‘parent’

As a compound, this construction means ‘parent’. In such cases, the two elements are syntactically inseparable. The same elements can also form a complex NP that contains a modifying relative clause. A clitic or particle cannot separate the elements of the compound and a modifying phrase follows the entire compound, distinguishing compounds from complex NPs. With a complex NP, a possessive enclitic is attached to the head noun, with other modification following. This is demonstrated in examples (3-24a) and (3-24b):

- (3-24) a. **Compound:**
jema tue=é
 person old=3.POSS
 ‘his/her parents’
- b. **Complex NP:**
jema=é (si) tue
 person=3.POSS REL old
 ‘it’s (i.e. a village) old people (i.e. inhabitants)’

3.4.2 Compound verbs

Two types of compound verbs can be distinguished in Gayo: (1) incorporating predicates, which are described in §6.1; and (2) compounds that contain an intransitive affixed verbal base preceded by the root form of the same verb. In this section the second type of compound is described. This type has following pattern:

¹ In Acehnese, *eungkôt* ‘fish’ is used in the same way (Durie 1985).

² *Iken* is used as the generic for all kinds of fish, typically inedible, e.g. *iken geras kap* ‘kind of large inedible fish that inhabits Lake Tawar’.

ROOT + [(AFFIX-)ROOT]

This pattern occurs with a limited set of roots, and many of the compounds have lexicalised meanings which are similar to the meanings expressed by reduplicated forms. These compound verbs specify either durativity/iterativity or plurality of participants. In the following sections, the meanings of these compounds are outlined. These are categorised according to the affix on the second element of the compound.

3.4.2.1 *Second element affixed with mun-*

When the second element of the compound is affixed with *mun-* (§7.1), the compound specifies a durative/iterative meaning. Consider example (3-25):

- (3-25) *Gëre nè tirô-munirô.*
 not anymore request-AO:request
 '(They) aren't continually asking (for things) anymore.' (IK:134)

As well as the durative/iterative meaning, other examples signal that the act is reciprocal, e.g. *suret-munyuret* 'correspond' (*suret* 'letter') and *tulis-munulis* 'write things' (*munulis* 'write'). Other such compounds containing the prefix *mun-* can denote gatherings of a large number of people, e.g. *kinté-munginté* 'hold an engagement party' (*kinté* 'betel' (chewed communally)); *munginté* 'propose marriage'); *kerje-mungerje* 'hold a wedding' (*kerje* 'marry') *bantu-[mu-bantu]* 'help each other collectively' (*mu-bantu* 'help').

- (3-26) *Tulis-munulis kami.*
 write-[AO:write] we.EXCL
 'We wrote to each other.'

3.4.2.2 *Second element affixed with mu-*

When the intransitive prefix *mu-* (§7.4) occurs in this construction, a durative or continuous meaning is signalled. Consider example (3-27):

- (3-27) *Sawah-[mu-sawah] këber oya.*
 arrive-[INTR-arrive] news that
 'The news arrived bit by bit.' (IK:99)

3.4.2.3 *Second element affixed with ber-*

With the middle prefix *ber-*, a meaning is conveyed of an event with a plurality of participants. The constructions refer to specific traditional rituals:

- (3-28) *Bèwèn=é jema banan sebuku-[be-sebuku].*
 all=3.POSS person woman wail-[MID-wail]
 'All the women were ritually wailing.'

Other examples include: *demu-[be-demu]* 'meeting of prospective bride and bridegroom' (*mu-demu* 'meet'); *sebuku-[be-sebuku]* 'ceremonial wailing' (*be-sebuku* 'wail'); *umé-[ber-umé]* 'gather for discussion of dowry payment' (*umé* 'parent-in-law').

3.4.2.4 Second element affixed with *bersi...-(n)en*

With the reciprocal circumfix *bersi...-(n)en* (§7.6), the compound refers to a reciprocal event involving multiple participants:

- (3-29) *Turah hormat-[bersi-hormat-an], bantu-[bersi-bantu-nen]*
 must polite-[RECIP-polite] help-[RECIP-help]
 (We) must be polite to each other, (and) help each other. (IK:79)

3.4.2.5 Second element affixed with *mu-/em-*

With the intransitive prefix/infix *mu-/em-* (§7.4), the compound refers to a repeated action, as demonstrated in (3-30):

- (3-30) *Ke-këber=ni, sebenar=é, nge turun-[t[em]urun]*
 RED-news:IMIT=this true=3.POSS already descend-[INTR-descend]
ari Gayô=ni.
 from Gayo=this
 ‘This tale, in fact, has been handed down by the Gayo.’

Example (3-31) contains a common introduction to folk stories and it is only heard in this context:

- (3-31) *Jëmen, tekële mun jalô-[j[em]alô], uren rené-[r[em]ené],³*
 long.ago when cloud race-[INTR-]race rain drizzle-[INTR-]drizzle
kerpé jarum-[j[em]arum] ...
 grass spike-[INTR-spike]
 Long ago, when the clouds raced (one another), the rain drizzled down,
 and the grass spiked up ... (Pukes)

3.4.3 Dvandva compounds

The notion of ‘dvandva compounds’ originates from the classical Sanskrit tradition. These have also been referred to as ‘appositional compounds’ or ‘copulative compounds’ (Olson 2001). Dvandva compounds consist of two words with complementary or related meanings that are combined to convey a meaning that encompasses both. Although referred to as compounds here, dvandva compounds are phonologically like reduplicated structures, i.e. they have double-word stress (§2.2.1.1). These differ from other compounds in that both words in the compound act as co-heads. Dvandva compounds can be composed of two nouns, forming a new noun, as in (3-32):

- (3-32) *Bersi-èngon-en beru-bujang.*
 RECIP-see girl-boy
 ‘The girls and boys looked at each other.’

Dvandva compounds containing verb roots function as intransitive verb predicates. The compound may consist of either transitive or intransitive verbs. Consider example (3-33):

³ The form *rené-r[em]eno* is a variation of this form used by storytellers from Isak.

(3-33) *Wè gère pané tulis-baca.*

3 not clever write-read

'He is not good at reading and writing.' (*i-tulis* 'write (VT)'; *i-baca* 'read' (VT))

Other examples of dvandva compounds with verbal bases include *juel-beli* 'buying and selling' and *ulak-beluh* 'come and go'. Dvandva compounds with nominal bases include *beru-bujang* 'boys and girls', *mas-pirak* 'gold and silver' and *ôpôh-baju* 'clothing' (lit. 'cloth-shirt'). These compounds can also be formed from stative verbs to form nouns referring to the entities that have the characteristic described by the verbs. Examples include *tue-mude* 'old and young', *kôl-kucak* 'big and small' and *porak-sejuk* 'fever' (lit. 'hot-cold').

Although rare, dvandva compounds can be composed of two affixed intransitive verbs:

(3-34) *Buet ni anak negeri oya [ber-ume]-[ber-empus].*

work POSS offspring country that [MID-rice.paddy]-[MID-garden]

'People in that country cultivate rice paddies and gardens.' (IK:183)

A dvandva compound can also consist of synonyms. Such constructions are frequently used in poetic language. Consider example (3-35):

(3-35) *I onè tubuh=ku denem-[mu-kalé]*

LOC there body=1.POSS feel.longing-[INTR-feel.longing]

I was longing (for my home) there.' (IK:75)

With many of these constructions, the second word in the compound is a synonym borrowed from Malay, as in examples (3-36) and (3-37). Such constructions have an emphatic or intensifying function:

(3-36) *Ara resam si harus-turah i-buet-en.*

EXIST custom REL must-must UO-do-CAUS1

'There is a custom which must be performed.' (IK:110)

(*harus* 'must' (Malay); *turah* 'must' (Gayo))

(3-37) *Sana kati besilô=ni talu ku jep-jep umah nge kin teréh-takut?*

what so.that now=this call to RED-each house already as afraid-afraid

'Why is it that now visiting other houses has become (something) scary?'

(*teréh*, 'afraid' (Gayo); *takut* 'afraid' (Malay))

Example (3-38) contains further examples of dvandva compounds composed of synonyms:

(3-38) *sebuku-[pe-pongot-en]* 'ritual wailing'

((*ber*)-*sebuku*, 'wail' (Gayo);
pe-pongot-en, 'ritual wailing'
(Gayo))

reta-milik

'worldly possessions'

(*reta* 'wealth' (Gayo); *milik*
'possession' (Malay))

ulak-balik

'return'

(*ulak*, 'return' (Gayo); *balik*,
'return' (Malay))

3.5 Reduplicated forms

Reduplication is a feature of many South-East Asian languages. In Gayo, two types of reduplication can be distinguished: (1) partial reduplication, i.e. CV reduplication (Blust

1998), where the initial consonant of the word is duplicated and separated from the full word by schwa, e.g. *te-tir* 'very early' (*tir* 'early'), and; (2) total reduplication, where the entire word is repeated and the resulting structure has double word stress, e.g. *umah-umah* 'houses' (*umah* 'house'). The choice of partial or total reduplication with a given base is largely determined by the form of the base. The meanings listed in §3.5.2 apply to both types of reduplication.

Total reduplication is distinct from repetition. Total reduplication is a morphological process of word formation whereas repetition operates purely at the level of discourse. In (3-39) the verb *beluh* 'go' is repeated to signal iteration, and is not an example of reduplication:

- (3-39) *Beluh ulubelang=ni renyel ku Pulô Pinang. Beluh beluh beluh ...*
 go domain.lord=this continue to island Pinang go go go
 'The domain lord went on to Pulau Pinang. (He) went and went and went ...'
 (SLG:25)

The functions of reduplication in Gayo are numerous, and it is difficult to characterise these in general terms. Bugenhagen (1995:180) broadly describes reduplication as expressing 'the more general semantic notion of extension'.

3.5.1 Kinds of reduplicated forms

Three types of reduplication can be distinguished in Gayo, based on the relationship of the reduplicated structure with its component parts, as outlined below.

3.5.1.1 Reduplication as an inherent structural feature of words

Reduplication is a structural feature of some word roots. There are a number of words with reduplicated structures, which is not the result of any systematic process of derivation, there being no unreduplicated base form; e.g. *tibe-tibe* 'suddenly', *ure-ure* 'kind of riddle', *ali-ali* 'sling-shot', and *awas-awas* 'burning piece of wood used as a torch'. Reduplication is a structural feature typical of many ideophones (§7.4.1.4), e.g. *kerkes-kerkes* 'rustle; sound of rustling' and *muk-muk* 'call of an ape'.

3.5.1.2 Reduplication as a word-formation process

Reduplication is also used as a means of word-formation. New words are formed, and often the reduplicated form and its non-reduplicated counterpart belong to different syntactic categories. For example, *urum-urum* 'together (ADV)' (*urum* 'with' (PREP)), *ke-kulit* 'buffalo-skin dried for cooking' (*kulit* 'skin'), and *ge-gapit* 'juice press' (*gapit* 'pincers, tweezers').

3.5.1.3 Syntactic reduplication

Reduplication can convey meanings of emphasis, plurality, intensity, and approximation. In contrast with the reduplication as a word-formation process, there is no fundamental change in the semantic or grammatical properties of the word after reduplication. This kind

of reduplication is referred to here as syntactic reduplication (Uhlenbeck 1978:94), a term which distinguishes it from reduplication as a process of deriving words of new lexical categories, and reduplication as an inherent structural feature of words. Durie (1985:37) calls this 'emphatic reduplication' in Acehnese, referring to the broad pragmatic function of the process. However, in Gayo this type of reduplication has functions other than emphasis, often signalling meanings such as approximation. As such, I refer to this by the more general term 'syntactic reduplication'.

3.5.2 Morphophonological features of syntactic reduplication

3.5.2.1 Partial reduplication

We saw above that reduplication can involve either partial or total reduplication of a word. Partial reduplication typically occurs with certain one-syllable or two-syllable roots. Although partial reduplication of single-syllable roots does occur, few examples were found in the corpus: *te-tir* 'very early' (*tir* 'early') and *pe-ge-gèh* 'go here and there' ((*per*-T.EXT,) *gèh* 'come'). Partial reduplication occurs most frequently with disyllabic C-initial words, e.g. *te-teréh* 'very afraid' (*teréh* 'afraid'), *ke-kude* 'horses' (*kude* 'horse'), and *se-sara* 'approximately one' (*sara* 'one').

3.5.2.2 Total reduplication

V-initial words can undergo total reduplication and not partial reduplication. Examples include *umah-umah* 'houses' (*umah* 'house'), *umé-umé* 'parents-in-law' (*um é* parent-in-law') and *èngon-èngon* 'look here and there' (*i-èngon* 'see'). C-initial words can undergo both total and partial reduplication, e.g. *roa-roa* 'in twos' (*roa* 'two'), *kunul-kunul* 'sit' (*kunul* 'sit'), and *sisu-sisu* 'whisper to each other' (*be-sisu* 'whisper').

It is somewhat difficult to determine the reasons for choosing either partial or total reduplication of a C-initial word. However, generally, in constructions where the reduplication signals emphasis, typically the word undergoes total reduplication. Partial reduplication is typical of more semantic functions, i.e. signalling plurality or iterativity. Examples (3-40) and (3-41) demonstrate that both types of reduplication are possible with a single given word:

- (3-40) *Ke-kiding ni akang sedep le, pôn.*
 RED-foot POSS deer delicious FOC uncle
 'Deer feet (plurality) are delicious, uncle.' (IK:166)
- (3-41) *Kiding-kiding ni akang si delé gère i-rai peteri=ni sine.*
 RED-foot POSS deer REL many not UO-fetch princess=this earlier
 'Those deer feet (plurality, emphasis) really weren't fetched by the princess earlier.' (IK:168)

There are two instances of syntactic reduplication in which the initial consonant of the base in the reduplicated construction is replaced by *m*. These are demonstrated in (3-42) and (3-43) respectively. This occurs only with total reduplication, and has an intensifying function:

- (3-42) *Mungôl-ni anak=é susah, sakit-makit.*
 AO:raise-CAUSI offspring=3.POSS difficult sick-RED
 'Raising their children was difficult, really difficult.' (IK:32)
- (3-43) *Enti taring-maring bèwèn=é turah beluh.*
 don't remain-RED all=3.POSS must go
 'Don't anyone stay behind at all, everyone must go.'

3.5.3 Meanings expressed by syntactic reduplication

3.5.3.1 Plurality

Reduplication of nouns often conveys a sense of plurality, as demonstrated in examples (3-44) and (3-45):

- (3-44) *Mun ber-iring i pucuk ni bur-bur atas.*
 cloud MID-trail LOC peak POSS RED-mountain tall
 'The clouds made trails in the peaks of the high mountains.' (IK:24)
- (3-45) *Genali n-emah=è, urum kitep-kitep=é.*
 Genali AO-carry=3.N.SUBJ with RED-book=3.POSS
 'Genali brought it (i.e. knowledge of religion), with his books.'

This meaning can be signalled by reduplicating the head of a compound noun. This is demonstrated in (3-46) with the compound *jema banan* 'woman':

- (3-46) *Jema-jema banan=ni teréh kin oya=ne.*
 RED-person woman=this afraid DAT that=earlier
 '(We) women were afraid of that.' [Said by an elderly lady referring to the Japanese soldiers during the Japanese occupation.]

3.5.3.2 Intensity

With stative verb bases, reduplication can signal intensification, conveying meanings such as 'very' or 'really', as in (3-47):

- (3-47) *Ike jarak-jarak k=onè, gëre mu-kunah.*
 if RED-far to=there not INTR-problem
 'If it's really far to get there, it doesn't matter.'

In (3-48), reduplication of a local noun conveys a meaning of intensification:

- (3-48) *Turah gép ton=é, ku wan-wan uten so.*
 must far place=3.POSS to RED-inside.POSS forest yon
 'Their place must be far, deep inside the forest.' (IK:104)

3.5.3.3 Iterativity/durativity

Reduplicated verbs that denote processes can specify durative or iterative meanings. The bases in these constructions can be unaffixed. Consider examples (3-49) and (3-50):

- (3-49) *Nge sawah k=onè, nge cerak-cerak.*
 already arrive to=there already RED-talk
 'When they arrived there, they were chatting away.' (SLG:233)

- (3-50) *Jema nge sisu-sisu.*
 person already RED-whisper
 'The people were whispering.' (*be-sisu* 'whisper') (SLG:170)

This meaning can also be expressed by affixed constructions containing reduplicated bases, as in (3-51) and (3-52):

- (3-51) *Sara pingan petukel tengah m-asap-asap.*
 one plate pumpkin CONT INTR-RED-steam
 'A plate of pumpkin was steaming away.' (IK:208)

- (3-52) *Turah be-pikir-pikir mulo.*
 must MID-RED-think first
 '(He) had to have a think first.' (IK:83)

3.5.3.4 Approximation

Reduplication of adjuncts of time and place can indicate an approximation. Consider examples (3-53) and (3-54):

- (3-53) *Jem-jem lima abang=mu ulak.*
 RED-hour five older.brother=2.POSS return
 'Older brother will return at about five o'clock.' (60:8)

- (3-54) *I sien-sien delé s[en]uen.*
 LOC RED-here many NOM-plant
 'Around here there are many plants.'

Reduplication can also signal indefinite, generic reference, as demonstrated in example (3-55):

- (3-55) *Selamat le bèwèn=é ku se-sara pulô.*
 safe FOC all=3.POSS to RED-one island
 'They all (went) safely to an island.' (SLG:46)

Epistememes (§4.4.2) can function as indefinite pronouns when reduplicated:

- (3-56) *Sahan-sahan pe-cogah, gère galak até n=Tuhen.*
 RED-who T.TEXT-lie not like liver POSS=God
 'Whoever lies, God doesn't like (them).'

The meaning conveyed by reduplication in (3-57) is best glossed as 'almost':

- (3-57) *Maté-maté wè munetah-i=é*
 RED-die 3 AO:fix-LOC=3.N.SUBJ
 'He (almost) died fixing it up.'

Nouns that denote gender and age are often reduplicated to convey a generic or indefinite sense. Such nouns include *anan* 'old woman, grandmother', *ine* 'older woman, mother', *beru* 'girl', and *bujang* 'boy'. Reduplication is so typical of words conveying these

meanings that in the instance of *ke-kanak* ‘child’, its non-reduplicated counterpart does not occur. Consider examples (3-58) and (3-59):

- (3-58) *Be-bujang, ike malè bersi-ramah-an urum se-sara be-beru,*
 RED-boy if will RECIP-friendly with RED-one RED-girl
gép-gép beluh ari kampung=é.
 RED-far go from village=3.POSS
 ‘A young man, if (he) wants to get to know a young woman, (they) go
 (i.e. to meet) far away from (their) village. (IK:103)
- (3-59) *Ara awan-awan taring i jamur ho.*
 EXIST RED-grandfather live LOC cottage yon
 ‘There is a (certain) elderly man living in that cottage over there.’

Words denoting gender and age can be further reduplicated to convey the meanings described in the preceding sections. This is evidence of the lexicalised nature of reduplication with these words. In example (3-60), the noun *beru* ‘girl’ is partially duplicated, signalling a generic meaning, and then totally duplicated, specifying plurality:

- (3-60) [*Be-beru*]-[*be-beru*] pong=é tengah=a be-cerak sabé
 RED-[RED-girl] friend=3.POSS long.ago=that MID-talk among
diri=é.
 self=3.POSS
 ‘Her girlfriends from long ago were talking among themselves.’ (IK:93)

3.5.3.5 Emphasis

Reduplication can be used to signal emphasis in discourse. Consider examples (3-61) and (3-62):

- (3-61) *Kunul-kumul dih, kedang gèh ama.*
 RED-sit just maybe come father
 ‘Just sit right there, maybe father will come.’
- (3-62) *I Acéh=ni, betul-betul agama kuat.*
 LOC Aceh=this RED-true religion strong
 ‘Here in Aceh, truly religion is strong.’

Emphasis can also be expressed with reduplicated words where both elements are affixed:

- (3-63) *Mata=é gëre ilen [m-uke]-[m-uke].*
 eye=3.POSS not yet RED-[INTR-open]
 ‘His eyes weren’t open at all yet.’ (*i-uke* ‘open’) (SLG:217)

3.5.3.6 The ‘imitative’ derivation

A reduplicated base can occur in conjunction with the suffix *-(n)en*, signalling a meaning of ‘imitation’. This can occur with nominal bases, e.g. *anak-anak-an* ‘doll’ (*anak* ‘offspring’), *ke-kude-n* ‘stool’ (*kude* ‘horse’) and *ke-këber-en* ‘folk-tale’ (*këber* ‘news’). It can also be attached to verbal bases. Such a construction bears the intransitive prefix *mu-* (§7.4), or with multiple participants, *ber-* (§7.2), e.g. *mu-se-sakét-en* ‘pretend to be sick’

(*sakét* 'sick'), *mu-ne-nomè-n* 'pretend to be resting' (*mu-nomé* 'lie down'), *mu-je-jerang-an* 'pretend to be cooking' (*i-jerang* 'cook'), and *mu-ke-koro-n* 'pretend to be a buffalo (e.g. children playing)' (*kôrô* 'buffalo'). Consider examples (3-64) and (3-65):

- (3-64) *Ipak=a mu-je-jerang-an.*
 young.girl=that INTR-RED-cook-IMIT
 'That young girl is playing cooking.'

- (3-65) *Bèwèn=é be-ne-nomè-n.*
 all=3.POSS MID-RED-lie.down-IMIT
 'Everyone is pretending to sleep.'

With words that are inherently reduplicated, the imitative meaning is signalled without further reduplication:

- (3-66) *Ko jema tue, hana kati mu-kekanak-an?*
 2 person old what so.that INTR-child-IMIT
 'You are an adult, why are you acting like a child?'

3.6 Grammatical relations

In this section grammatical relations in Gayo are introduced. These are dealt with more thoroughly in §5.2.1.

3.6.1 Direct and oblique arguments

Two types of arguments are distinguished in Gayo: direct and oblique arguments. Direct arguments are expressed as NPs, and are represented by a noun, a complex NP, or a clitic. Intransitive clauses contain a single direct argument, as in (3-67); and transitive clauses are either monotransitive, in which case they take two direct arguments, as in (3-68); or ditransitive, in which case they take three direct arguments, as in (3-69). In these examples, the direct arguments are in **bold**.

- (3-67) *Gèh aku.*
 come 1
 'I have come.'
- (3-68) *I-tipak=è asu.*
 UO-kick=3.N.SUBJ dog
 'S/he kicked the dog.'
- (3-69) *I-osah=è aku nenas.*
 UO-give=3.N.SUBJ 1 pineapple
 'S/he gave me a pineapple.'

Oblique arguments are expressed as PPs headed by the dative preposition *kin* and, less frequently, by the preposition *ku* 'to'. An oblique argument can refer to a stimulus of an intransitive verb of emotion or cognition, or the goal of a ditransitive predicate. The status of these PPs as arguments is evident by the fact that, unlike clausal adjuncts, a stimulus or goal can also be expressed as a direct argument without the predicate taking a valence-increasing affix. For example, in (3-70a), the intransitive verb *teréh* 'afraid' takes a direct

argument referring to an experiencer and a PP referring to a stimulus. The argument status of the stimulus is evident by the fact that it can function as the gap in a relative clause, as demonstrated in (3-70b). The verb is nominalised and functions as the head of a complex NP within the relative clause. The relativised stimulus is expressed as a bare NP. Similar tests can be used to determine the argument status of PPs with other verbs. These are discussed in detail in §5.2.1.2.

- (3-70) a. *Teréh aku kin oya.*
 afraid 1 DAT that
 'I am afraid of that.'
- b. *Oya le si teréh ni aku.*
 that FOC REL afraid POSS 1
 'That's what I'm afraid of.' (lit. 'That's my fear.')

The argument status of the goal in a ditransitive clause is evident by the fact that it can be paraphrased as a direct argument preceding the NP that refers to the theme. In example (3-71a) the goal of the ditransitive verb *i-osah* 'give' is expressed as an oblique argument, and in (3-71b) as a direct argument:

- (3-71) a. *I-osah=è sèn ku ko.*
 UO-give=3.N.SUBJ money to 2
 'He have some money to you.'
- b. *I-osah=è ko sèn.*
 UO-give=3.N.SUBJ 2 money
 'He gave you some money.'

Arguments and argumenthood are discussed in detail in §5.2.1.

3.6.2 Subject

Subject is a purely syntactically defined relation and is closely equivalent to the Tagalog 'topic'. The subject in Gayo is not aligned by default with the actor role as in nominative/accusative languages, or the undergoer role as in ergative/absolutive languages; there is no 'passive' or analogous operation in Gayo. Subjects are formally expressed as NPs, and are characterised by their syntactic independence from their predicate, i.e. they can be separated from their predicate by other constituents such as adjuncts or adverbial particles. The canonical position of the subject is following its predicate, but it can be fronted to pre-predicate position for emphasis in discourse. Example (3-72) contains an intransitive clause whose subject is expressed as a NP following its predicate. The subjects in the following examples are in **bold**.

- (3-72) ***Sawah** wè/jema=wa.*
 arrive 3/person=that
 'He/that person has arrived.'

Transitive clauses contain two (monotransitive) or three (ditransitive) arguments. They contain a VP-external subject NP and a VP-internal non-subject NP, which is typically expressed as a pronominal clitic. In transitive clauses, the semantic role of the subject is specified by a voice affix attached to the predicate. In example (3-73), the subject is an actor; and in (3-74), an undergoer:

(3-73) *Ko munipak=è*
 3 AO:kick=3.N.SUBJ
 'You kicked him.'

(3-74) *I-tipak=ko wè.*
 UO-kick=3.N.SUBJ 2
 'You kicked him.'

In undergoer-oriented ditransitive clauses, it is the goal which bears the undergoer macrorole and functions as the subject, e.g. *ko* '2' in (3-75):

(3-75) *Nge ku-osah ko sèn.*
 already UO.1-give 2 money
 'I have given you some money.'

The subject relation is discussed in detail in §5.2.1.1.2.

3.6.3 Actor and undergoer

As subjects are not associated by default with a particular semantic role, it is necessary to refer to participants in two-participant events by the semantic macroroles of 'actor' and 'undergoer' (Foley & Van Valin 1984; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). Two participant events can be coded by transitive, semitransitive, and intransitive predicates. Transitive clauses are those clauses that contain two or three direct arguments, with one argument referring to an actor and the other an undergoer, e.g. (3-73) to (3-75) in the preceding section. Semantic macroroles are also employed in this grammar to refer to incorporated (non-argument) nouns and oblique arguments.

Arguments in Gayo refer to individuated entities. Non-individuated participants are expressed as incorporated nouns immediately following the verb, forming a complex verb. Gayo features extensive use of undergoer incorporation. For example, in (3-76), the intransitive verb *m-inum* 'drink' takes an incorporated noun referring to an undergoer participant, i.e. *kupi* 'coffee':

(3-76) *M-inum kupi kami.*
 INTR-drink coffee we.EXCL
 'We are drinking coffee.'

Incorporated nouns can also refer to actors. For example, in (3-77) the intransitive verb *kona* 'struck' takes an incorporated noun referring to an actor, i.e. *uren* 'rain'. The incorporated status of the actor is evident by the fact that the verb does not bear a voice affix, and the actor cannot have individuated reference. Only a small number of verbs can take an incorporated actor. Actor incorporation is discussed in §6.1.2.

(3-77) *Kami nge kona uren.*
 we.EXCL already struck rain
 'We got rain on us.' (lit. 'We were rain-struck.')

Finally, semantic macroroles can refer to oblique arguments in semitransitive clauses. Example (3-78) contains a stative verb of emotion. The experiencer, i.e. *ama* 'father', functions as the clausal subject, and is an actor; and the stimulus, i.e. *ko* '2', functions as an oblique argument, and is an undergoer:

- (3-78) *Bengis ama kin ko.*
angry 3 DAT 2
'He is angry with you.'

The semantic macroroles actor and undergoer are discussed in detail in §5.2.1.1.3.

4 *Word classes*

There are two major open word classes in Gayo: nouns and verbs; and a number of minor word classes: adverbs, epistememes, numerals, quantifiers, demonstratives, and interjections. Word classes can be defined on the basis of semantic and morphosyntactic criteria (Schachter 1985; Evans 2000). Semantic definitions of word classes typically characterise nouns as denoting ‘things’, and verbs denoting ‘states’, ‘processes’ and ‘events’. Morphosyntactic criteria include the fact that nouns function as the arguments of verbs, or may be modified by a determiner, while verbs cannot. In this grammar, morphosyntactic criteria are employed to define the word classes. Semantic criteria are not used to assign words to classes, but to label a category in relation to names of word classes cross-linguistically (cf. Lyons 1969). In this chapter the defining characteristics of the different word classes in Gayo are described. In §4.1, I outline how the major classes of noun and verb are distinguished from each other. In §4.2, I describe nouns and their characteristics, in §4.3, I describe verbs, and in §4.4, I outline the minor word classes.

4.1 The distinction between noun and verb

Gayo, like other Austronesian languages, exhibits fewer formal distinctions between the major categories of noun and verb than in the more familiar languages of Europe. Nouns are not inflected for number, plurality or definiteness, nor is there any copular verb which is required when non-verbal elements are used predicatively. Verbs are not marked for agreement with any of their arguments, nor for gerundive or participial use. The same form is often used in different syntactic slots within a sentence to convey different meanings. For example, in (4-1), *pané* ‘clever’ functions as a predicate. In example (4-2) this verb is nominalised, functioning as the head of a NP.

- (4-1) *Gëre pané wè.*
not clever 3
‘He isn’t clever.’

- (4-2) *Malè i-turuh-en pané ni pawang.*
will UO-show-CAUS1 clever POSS hunter
‘The cleverness (i.e. skill) of the hunter will be revealed.’ (IK:48)

Similar facts in related languages such as Malay and Tagalog have been cited as evidence that roots cannot be categorised into the major classes of noun and verb (Gil 1994; Himmelmann forthcoming). However, although a given verb root in Gayo can function as

the head of a NP in verbal nominalisations, it is the predicative function which is its unmarked function. In such nominalisations, the verb requires a modifying possessive phrase specifying a participant in the state of affairs described by the verb, *ni pawang* in (4-2) above. Nouns do not require such modification in order to function as NPs. This is due to the inherently relational nature of the concepts expressed by verbs (Croft 1991). Furthermore, verbs cannot be modified by other kinds of phrases that can modify nouns, such as descriptive and measure phrases.

Many verb roots require affixation in order to function as predicates, while such roots can be unaffixed when they occur in nominalisations. This apparently contradicts the tendency cross-linguistically for nominalised verbs to be represented by morphologically derived forms (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993). For example, in (4-3) the verb *mu-sangka* 'run' functions as a predicate, taking the intransitive prefix *mu-*; while in (4-4), the root functions as the head of a NP (§10.1), and is unaffixed.

- (4-3) *Mu-sangka pôn=é=ne.*
 INTR-run uncle=3.POSS=earlier
 'His uncle ran.' (SLG:71)

- (4-4) *Kuneh pè [sangka ni akang], turun=é ku palôh.*
 how also/even run POSS deer descend=3.POSS to downhill
 'However the running of the deer (would be), it would go downhill.' (IK:50)

In some descriptions of western Austronesian languages, bound roots are analysed as precategorial. Precategorial roots have been characterised as roots from which items belonging to different lexical or syntactic categories, e.g. noun and verb, can be derived without there being clear evidence that one of the possible derivations from a given root is more basic than the other (cf. Verhaar 1984). Bound roots in Gayo are not precategorial, in the sense that they can be grouped into distinct lexical categories on the basis of their behaviour with affixes (Himmelman forthcoming). Defining characteristics of nouns and verbs and their subclasses are outlined in detail in §4.2 and §4.3 respectively.

4.2 Nouns

Nouns are distinguished from verbs by the fact that they can function as the arguments of affixed verbal predicates (4-5), as the heads of NPs (4-6), and as the complements of prepositions (4-7). In these examples the nouns are in **bold**.

- (4-5) ***Pingen** nge ber-ingô.*
 plate already MID-wash(dishes)
 'The plates are washed.'
- (4-6) ***budi=é** si jeroh.*
 manners=3.POSS REL good
 'His good manners.' (IK:146)
- (4-7) ***Tepung=é** ari oros.*
 flour=3.POSS from uncooked.rice
 'It's flour is from (i.e. made out of) rice.' (IK:67)

Some nouns in Gayo are defective, requiring further modification in order to function as NPs. Defective nouns are described in §4.2.1. There are five different sub-classes of nouns in Gayo: common nouns, names and titles, pronouns, local nouns and measure nouns.

These are introduced in §4.2.2, and described in detail in §10 along with their various functions. Nouns are either morphologically simple or derived from verbs and other nouns. Noun-deriving morphology is described in §4.2.3.

4.2.1 Defective nouns

Defective nouns in Gayo are those nouns that specify generic meanings, and require modification by another element in order to function as NPs. Modification may be either within a compound structure (§3.4.1), or within a complex NP. For example, the noun *urang* 'person' occurs in compounds with a specific element referring to clan, ethnicity or place of origin: *urang Gayô* 'Gayo person', *urang Munté* 'Person of the Munté clan', *urang Jêwe* 'Javanese person'. The noun *urang* cannot function as a NP on its own.

Paké 'person' is another example of a defective noun.¹ It can function as the argument of a verbal predicate only if it is the head of a complex NP. For example, in (4-8), *paké* is modified by a measure phrase (§10.2), in (4-9), by a relative clause (Chapter 14), and in (4-10) within a compound (§3.4.1):

- (4-8) *Ara [opat paké] onè.*
 EXIST four person there
 'There were four people there.'
- (4-9) *I-rede-n=è [paké si tengah pelulu=a].*
 UO-stop-CAUSI=3.N.SUBJ person REL CONT fight=that
 'He stopped those people who were fighting.'
- (4-10) *I-rai=è [paké umah=é] ari Mèdan.*
 UO-fetch=3.N.SUBJ person house=3.POSS from Medan
 'He fetched his wife from Medan.'

Paké cannot function as the argument of a verb on its own. Consider example (4-11):

- (4-11) *Nge ku-èngon jema/*paké/*urang.*
 already UO.1-see person/person/person
 'I saw a person.'

Other examples of defective nouns include *iken* 'fish' (e.g. *iken keperas* 'species of fish'), *batang* 'tree, plant' (e.g. *batang teguh* 'kind of grass'), and *pisang* 'banana' (e.g. *pisang korong* 'species of banana').

4.2.2 Subclasses of nouns

4.2.2.1 Common nouns

Common nouns are a major open word class. Nouns are traditionally characterised as denoting 'any person, place or thing' (Lyons 1969:147), and they are typically morphologically simple forms, e.g. *kilet* 'lightning', *kerpé* 'grass', *manuk* 'bird', *jema* 'person' and *umah* 'house'. Nouns can be derived from verbs or other nouns by means of affixation (§4.2.3), e.g. *pen-dere* 'stick for beating' (*pen-* INSTR + *i-dere* 'beat' (VT)),

¹ The semantic differences between *jema*, *urang*, and *paké* are outlined in Appendix E.

penyëder-en ‘something said’ (*pen-...-(n)en* U.NOM + *i-sëder* ‘say’ (VT)), and *per-utem-en* ‘area where firewood is collected’ (*per-...-(n)en* NOM + *utem* ‘firewood’ (N)).

4.2.2.2 Names and titles

In traditional Gayo society, people are referred to by their social position, teknonym, kin relationship, or a nickname. A number of titles are used for second or third person reference. Titles, names, and kin terms can function in the place of independent pronouns as terms of address. Titles, names and kin terms are discussed in §10.1.1. A range of kin terms are listed in detail in Appendix D.

4.2.2.3 Pronouns

Pronouns are a closed subclass of nouns that are distinguished from other nouns by the fact that they code person and number. Independent pronouns are distinct from pronominal clitics by the fact that the clitics also code the grammatical functions of possession (§10.3). There is also a set of independent possessive pronouns, i.e. pronouns specifying the meanings ‘his/hers’, ‘mine’ and ‘yours’. These pronouns have no equivalents in other languages of the region. Personal pronouns are listed in Table 4-1:

Table 4-1: Pronouns

	Independent pronouns	Independent possessive pronouns	Possessive enclitics	Actor N.SUBJ	U/goer N.SUBJ
Sg. 1	<i>aku</i>	<i>nenong, nong</i>	<i>=(ng)ku²</i>	<i>ku⁻³</i>	<i>=aku</i>
2	<i>ko</i>	<i>ningko</i>	<i>=mu</i>	<i>=ko</i>	<i>=ko</i>
3	<i>wè</i>	<i>nisè, nihè</i>	<i>=é⁴</i>	<i>=è</i>	<i>=è</i>
Pl. 1.INCL	<i>kite</i>		<i>=(n)te</i>	<i>kite-</i>	<i>=kite</i>
1.EXCL	<i>kami</i>			<i>kami-</i>	<i>=kami</i>
2	<i>kam</i>	<i>ningkam</i>	<i>=ma</i>	<i>=kam</i>	<i>=kam</i>
3	<i>wè,</i> <i>paké=a/=ne/=ni⁵</i>				

Independent pronouns can function as subject arguments (§5.2.1.1.2), as in (4-12); as dislocated topics, as in (4-13); or as the complement of a preposition to form a PP, as in (4-14). In these examples the independent pronouns are in **bold**:

² The nasal element of the first person singular and plural (inclusive) enclitics occurs after vowel-final bases.

³ As the first person actor pronouns express undergoer orientation as well as the status of the actor argument, they are treated here as prefixes.

⁴ A word-final plosive or nasal is slightly geminate when the word bears the third person singular possessive enclitic *=é*.

⁵ The third person plural pronoun *paké* is a defective noun (§4.2.1), as it can function as a pronoun only when marked by a determiner (§10.5).

- (4-12) *Mu-lapé dih aku ilen.*
 INTR-hungry very I still
 'I'm still very hungry.' (Pelanuk)
- (4-13) *Aku, gère ku-inget nè.*
 I not UO.I-remember anymore
 'Me, I don't remember anymore.'
- (4-14) *Nge i-osah=è lukup ku aku.*
 already UO-give=3.N.SUBJ wild.mango to I
 'He gave some wild mangoes to me.'

Other pronouns have more specific grammatical functions and are described in various sections throughout this grammar. Possessive pronouns and enclitics are described in §10.3, and non-subject clitics in §5.2.1.1.2. Pronouns and their uses are described in §10.1.2.

4.2.2.4 Local nouns

Local nouns specify temporal, locative and directional meanings. There are three subclasses of local nouns. The first type is the deictic local noun, which specifies directions or locations in relation to the speaker and/or interlocutor. These occur within PPs or by themselves as adjuncts of location. Consider example (4-15), which contains the deictic local noun *sien* 'here', and refers to a place near the speaker:

- (4-15) *Aku mu-jège i sien.*
 I AO-guard LOC here
 'I'll stand guard here.' (IK:65)

The second type of local noun is the temporal local noun. These are distinguished from other nouns by the fact that they function as adjuncts on their own, and do not occur within local PPs when they function as adjuncts. In example (4-16), the local noun *soboh* 'morning' functions as an adjunct of temporal location:

- (4-16) *Ara jema gèh soboh=ne.*
 EXIST person come morning=earlier
 'Someone came this morning.'

The third kind of local noun is that which denotes physical location or direction, e.g. *ujung* 'edge'. These also occur within local PPs (§11), but are themselves modified by a possessive phrase denoting more specific locational information, put as *ni bukit=ni* in (4-17):

- (4-17) *arul i ujung ni bukit=ni*
 valley LOC edge POSS mountain=this
 'the valley at the edge of this mountain' (IK:64)

The local nouns are described in detail in §10.1.3.

4.2.2.5 Measure nouns

Measure nouns constitute a semi-open class, and function as the heads of complex measure phrases. Measure nouns denote measures of extent, volume, time, quantities of substance, parts and sections, and extents of time. They are distinguished from other nouns by the fact that they are modified by a numeral, with the whole measure phrase in turn modifying the head of a NP. Measure nouns are listed in detail in Appendix C. Consider example (4-18):

- (4-18) [oros [sara guni]^{MP}] NP
 uncooked.rice one sack
 ‘a sack of rice’

4.2.3 Noun-deriving affixes

Nouns can be derived from verbs and other nouns by the affixes listed in Table 4-2. Because affixes based on verbal roots play a central role in arguments about whether Gayo roots are word-class specific or precategorial, nominal morphology is described in some detail here.

Table 4-2: Noun-deriving affixes

<i>pen-</i>	instrumental prefix (§4.2.3.1)
<i>-en...-(n)en</i>	result nominalising infix/confix (§4.2.3.2)
<i>-(n)en</i>	nominalising suffix (§4.2.3.3)
<i>per...-(n)en</i>	collective nominalising circumfix (§4.2.3.4)
<i>pen...-(n)en</i>	undergoer nominalising circumfix (§4.2.3.5)

Allomorphic variation of noun-deriving affixes was described in §2.3.1.1. Individual affixes and their functions are described in the following sections.

4.2.3.1 Instrumental nominalising prefix: *pen-*

The prefix *pen-* is productively attached to transitive or intransitive verb roots to derive nouns that refer to an instrument with which the action described by the verb is carried out:

- (4-19) *pen-dere*
 INSTR-hit
 ‘stick for hitting with’ (*i-dere* ‘hit’ (VT))
- (4-20) *pengerat*
 INSTR:cut
 ‘tool for cutting, scissors.’ (*i-kerat* ‘cut’ (VT))
- (4-21) *pene-cét*
 INSTR-paint
 ‘paint brush’ (*mune-cét* ‘do painting’ (VI))

More abstract instrumental derivations occur with certain intransitive verb roots, such as *pen-urip* ‘livelihood, means of sustenance’ (*m-urip* ‘live’), *pe-mampat* ‘something to share (typically cigarettes) with a host when visiting, in order to create a nice atmosphere’ (*mampat* ‘nice’). The prefix can also derive nouns describing physical ability. Examples

include *penengé* 'the faculty of hearing' (*i-pengé* 'hear'), *pen-èngon* 'the faculty of sight' (*i-èngon* 'see'), *pen-inget* 'the faculty of memory' (*((i-)inget* 'remember'), *pem-bau* 'sense of smell' (*i-bau* 'smell'):

- (4-22) *Kona nge bekas ni akang ku pem-bau ni asu.*
 struck already track POSS deer to INSTR-smell POSS dog
 'The deer track caught the nose of the dogs.' (IK:51)

In (4-23), the affixed noun forms the base of an affixed-verb derivation:

- (4-23) *Aku gëre ara mu-pen-inget.*
 I not EXIST INTR-INSTR-remember
 'I don't have a good memory.'

An interesting example of the use of the prefix is where it is attached to the (Arabic) Muslim greeting (*As-*)*salamu alaikum*, which literally means 'peace be unto you'. In example (4-24) the statement was uttered by a *guru* 'shaman' who was explaining the function of a small bowl of smoking incense which he was using to call upon the spirits in a mystical ritual:

- (4-24) *Oya kin penyalamu alaikum.*
 that as INSTR:GREETING
 'That is an instrument for greeting (the spirits).'

Some nouns with animate reference can be derived with *pen-*. Only two examples were found in the corpus: *penesah* 'washerwoman' (*munesah* 'wash (clothes)') and *pen-jëge* 'guard' (*i-jëge* 'guard').

4.2.3.2 Result nominalising infix/confix: -en-...(-(n)en)

The infix/confix *-en-...(-(n)en)* is attached to verbs to derive nouns referring to entities that are the logical outcome of the event described by the verbal root. The number of verbs that can take infix/confix *-en-...(-(n)en)* is limited. With some exceptions, this affix attaches to two-syllable roots with an initial alveolar or palatal consonant. With roots that do not have these phonological features, similar meanings are derived by *-(n)en* (§4.2.3.3). This suffix is not treated as an allomorph of *-en-...(-(n)en)*, however, as the suffix *-(n)en* signals a much wider range of meanings than the infix/confix.

The infixed element *-en-* occurs in conjunction the suffixed element *-(n)en* with V-final roots. The suffixed element can also be attached to C-final derivations, but is generally not expressed. Examples of V-final roots bearing this affix include *t[en]iro-n* 'dowry' (*i-tirô* 'request') and *t[en]uné-n* 'savings' (*i-tuni* 'hide'), *t[en]aso-n* 'something stored away' (*i-tasô* 'store away'). Consider example (4-25):

- (4-25) *Ara we t[en]ason=é.*
 EXIST EMPH NOM-store=3.POSS
 'They have something stored away.' (*i-tasô* 'store away')

C-final roots can take the suffixed element, but this is typically dropped. Examples include *s[en]uen* 'plant' (*i-suen* 'plant'), *t[en]aruh* 'egg' (*i-taruh* 'lay (eggs)'), *j[en]ujung* 'something carried on the head' (*i-jujung* 'carry on the head'), *t[en]omang* 'planted rice seedlings' (*i-tomang* 'plant rice seedlings'), and *t[en]emak* 'rocks to channel water to a paddy' (*i-temak* 'block irrigation'). Consider example (4-26):

- (4-26) *Ini t[en]ulis ni ama.*
 this NOM-write POSS father
 'This is father's writing.' (i.e. 'This is an example of father's writing.')

The derivation *k[en]unul-en* 'raised sitting area in a house' (*kunul* 'sit') is anomalous. Unlike other derivations based on C-final roots, this derivation takes the suffixed element, and it has an initial velar stop. Furthermore, it denotes a location of the event described by the verbal root rather than the outcome of the action.

4.2.3.3 Nominalising suffix: *-(n)en*

The suffix *-(n)en* derives nouns from verbs and from certain other nouns. This suffix is not productively attached to these roots. There are only a small number of derivations in the corpus bearing this suffix. Attached to verbal roots, *-(n)en* derives nouns that denote an entity that is the logical result of the action described by the verb. Examples include *harap-an* 'a hope' (*i-harap* 'hope'), *bagé-n* 'a share' (*i-bagi* 'divide'), *pikir-en* 'a thought' (*pikir* 'think'), *pilih-en* 'a choice' (*i-pilih* 'choose'), and *unger-en* 'something told' (*ber-unger* 'tell').

Other derivations bearing this suffix denote entities that are in some way associated with the action described by a verbal base, e.g. *ulak-an* 'returnees, people coming back' (*ulak* 'return'). These can be entities that are instrumental in bringing about the state of affairs described by the verbal base, e.g. *remas-an* 'grinding stone' (*i-remas* 'grind') and *gatal-an* 'a flirtatious girl' (*gatal* 'itchy'). A number of these derivations contain a nominal base. Examples include *awah-an* 'mouthful' (*awah* 'mouth') and *sangkal-an* 'support, pillar' (*sangkal* 'a support').

4.2.3.4 Collective nominalising circumfix: *per-...-(n)en*

The circumfix *per-...-(n)en* productively derives nouns from verbs and other nouns, and conveys a number of different meanings. When attached to nouns the circumfix derives nouns that denote an entity that is related in some way to the referent of the base. Examples include *pe-sene-n* 'something not taken seriously' (*sene* 'joke'), *per-ôpôh-en* 'something used as clothing' (*ôpôh* 'cloth'), *per-ama-n* 'stud animal' (*ama* 'father'), and *per-ine-n* 'female animal used for breeding' (*ine* 'mother'). Consider examples (4-27) and (4-28):

- (4-27) *Gëre jeroh kin per-ine-n kôrô=ni.*
 not good as NOM-mother buffalo=this
 'This buffalo is not good as a breeder.'
- (4-28) *Kurik=ni kin per-ama-n.*
 chicken=this as NOM-father
 'This chicken is a stud rooster.'

This circumfix can also derive nouns that denote a location where the referent of the nominal root is located collectively. Examples include *per-utem-en* 'place for collecting firewood' (*utem* 'firewood'), *per-iken-en* 'fishing spot' (*iken* 'fish'), and *per-umah-an* 'area containing houses, a hamlet' (*umah* 'house'). Attached to verbal bases, the circumfix derives nouns denoting a place where the action described by the verb occurs, e.g. *pe-niré-n* 'bathing area' (*muniri* 'bathe'), *pe-lipè-n* 'walkway submerged in water' (*mu-lipé* 'wade'),

per-icing-en 'place for defecating (by a river)' (*m-icing* 'defecate'), and *pe-nomè-n* 'bed' (*munomé* 'lie down').

With certain verbs denoting ingestion, *per-...-(n)en* derives nouns referring to a dish or vessel associated with the action described by the verb, e.g. *pe-mangan-an* 'plate' (*mumangan* 'eat') and *per-inum-en* 'traditional drinking vessel' (*m-inum* 'drink').

4.2.3.5 Undergoer nominalising circumfix: *pen-...-(n)en*

The circumfix *pen-...-(n)en* is productively attached to transitive and intransitive verb roots to derive new nouns. Attached to transitive verb roots the circumfix derives nouns denoting an undergoer participant in the action described by the verbal base, e.g. *penekar-an* 'rubbish' (*i-tekar* 'discard'), *penebang-an* 'chopped down trees' (*i-tebang* 'chop down'), and *pengerat-an* 'something cut' (*i-kerat* 'cut'). Consider example (4-29):

- (4-29) *Pengerat-an n=sa ini?*
 U.NOM-cut POSS=who this
 'Whose cutting is this?' (i.e. 'Who did this cutting?')

Attached to intransitive verbs, the circumfix derives nouns that refer to an undergoer participant. As predicates, these verbs can only take an undergoer after they have been affixed with the causative *-(n)en* (§9.3). Examples include *penyerak-an* 'something talked about' (*be-cerak* 'talk', *i-cerak-an* 'talk about (something)'), *pengintè-n* 'one who will be proposed to (in marriage)' (*munginté* 'propose'; *i-kintè-n* 'propose to (someone)'), and *penyesuk-en* 'something that has been made to stand up' (*sesuk* 'stand'; *i-sesuk-en* 'stand (something) up'):

- (4-30) *Kotèk dih penyerak-n=é.*
 dirty very U.NOM-talk=3.POSS
 'He has a foul mouth.' (i.e. 'What he says is dirty.') (*be-cerak* 'talk')

- (4-31) *Suyen=a penyesuk-en m=pong=a.*
 beam=that U.NOM-stand POSS=friend=that
 'That beam was put up by that person.' (lit. 'That beam is that friend's thing that was made to stand up.')

Attached to some intransitive verb roots, *pen-...-(n)en* derives nouns specifying the place where an event specified by the verb typically occurs. Examples include *pengunule-n* 'a place to sit' (*kunul* 'sit'), *pengilih-en* 'descent of a mountain' (*mungilih* 'descend a mountain') and *penangkok-en* 'ascent of a mountain' (*munangkok* 'ascend a mountain'). These derivations often occur in the descriptive slot of a complex NP headed by *ton* 'place', e.g. *ton pengaro-n* 'hunting place' (*mungarô* 'hunt') and *ton pene-kik-en* 'fishing spot' (*mune-kik* 'go fishing').

4.3 Verbs

Cross-linguistically, the notion of verb is used to refer to a category that describes states, processes, and events. Verbs in Gayo are either unaffixed or are derived morphologically. Affixes can derive verbs from nouns and other verbs. Gayo is typical of Austronesian languages in that the notion of root is an important one. Roots can be classified into the

major categories of noun and verb. Nominal roots are those roots that can function as NP arguments without modification, while verbal roots cannot. Verbal roots are of two types: free verb roots (which function as predicates without affixation), and bound verb roots (which require affixation in order to function as predicates). Free verb roots can function as unaffixed predicates, in which case they denote stative or resultative meanings. These are described in §4.3.1. There is a range of affixes that derive verbs from nouns and other verbs. Predicates that denote events require affixation. Bound verb roots denote events, and thus require affixation in order to function as predicates. These are described §4.3.2. All verbal roots can be nominalised by means of a noun-deriving affix, as described in the previous sections; or by means of zero-derivation within a nominalised-verb construction. These constructions are described in §4.3.3. Finally, previous descriptions of Gayo make reference to a distinct class of 'adjectives'. However, there are no morphosyntactic grounds to establish a separate class of adjectives in Gayo. Words denoting adjectival meanings are represented by a subclass of intransitive verbs. This fact is discussed in §4.3.4.

4.3.1 Free verb roots

Two types of free verb roots are distinguished in Gayo: those that convey stative meanings and those that convey resultative meanings. Stative verbs are distinguished grammatically by the fact that they can combine in a coordinating structure. Example (4-32) contains stative verbs coordinated by the conjunction *urum* 'and':

- (4-32) *Manuk=a kucak urum ilang.*
 bird=that small and red
 'The bird is small and red.'

A stative verb cannot be conjoined with a resultative verb. Consider example (4-34), which contains the stative verb *sakét* 'sick' and the resultative verb *gèh* 'come':

- (4-33) **Wè sakét urum gèh.*
 3 sick and come
 ('He is sick and came.')

Stative verbs convey meanings that are commonly expressed by adjectives cross-linguistically. Examples include *kôl* 'big', *tue* 'old', *jeroh* 'good' and *ilang* 'red'. In example (4-34), the stative verb *kôl* 'big' functions as a predicate:

- (4-34) *Kôl pedih kurik=é.*
 big very chicken=3.POSS
 'His chickens are very big.'

A number of stative verbs denote emotional or psychological states, and can take an oblique argument that refers to a stimulus. Examples include *teréh* 'afraid (of)', *kemèl* 'shy, ashamed (with)', *bengis* 'angry', and *pecaya/percaya* 'have faith, believe (in)'. In example (4-35) the oblique argument-taking stative verb *kemèl* 'shy' functions as a predicate:

- (4-35) *Kemèl kami kin wè.*
 shy we.EXCL DAT 3
 'We are shy of him.'

Resultative verbs are distinguished semantically from stative verbs by the fact that stative verbs denote states without any implication of their origin, whereas resultative verbs denote both a state and the action it has resulted from (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988). For example, *maté* 'dead' can specify a state, as in (4-36), or the result of an act, as in (4-37). However, this verb cannot denote the actual process of dying, as is demonstrated in (4-38), where the verb is modified by the adverb *tengah*, which marks continuous aspect (§12.1.1):

- (4-36) *Kèdah-n=é wè nge maté.*
 seem-NOM=3.POSS 3 already dead
 'It seemed as if she were dead.' (IK:159)
- (4-37) *Ike ara jema malè maté, mu-ling kalang geguk.*
 if EXIST person will dead INTR-voice large.bird owl
 'When someone is about to die, the owl hoots.' (Métun)
- (4-38) *Wè tengah maté.*
 3 CONT dead
 'S/he is still dead.' (but *S/he is dying.)

In certain contexts resultative verbs can be modified by the continuous aspect adverb *tengah*. In (4-39), the event is understood as a series of completed events, and not a single continuous action. The clause specifies that a multiple number of participants 'arrive' one after the other:

- (4-39) *Nge tengah sawah paké=a.*
 already CONT arrive 3.PL=that
 'They are arriving (one after the other).'

Resultative verbs do not denote the actual performance of an action. As such, they cannot be modified for manner as affixed verbs can. Consider examples (4-40a) and (4-40b), in which a resultative verb and an affixed intransitive verb are modified by the stative verb *bacar* 'fast' in a serial-verb construction:

- (4-40) a. **Wè bacar gèh.*
 3 fast come
 ('S/he came quickly.')
- b. *Wè bacar r[em]jalan.*
 3 fast INTR-walk
 'S/he walked quickly.'

Resultative verbs are also distinguished from stative verbs by the fact that they can be used in positive commands (§13.1), whereas stative verbs cannot. Consider examples (4-41) and (4-42):

- (4-41) *Beluh renyel ari ini!*
 gone then from here
 'Go away from here.' (SLG:48)
- (4-42) **Ramah!*
 friendly
 ('Be friendly!')

In summary, unaffixed verbs specify stative and resultative meanings, and never the actual performance of an act. Verbs denoting events require affixation, and are referred to as bound roots. These are described in the following section.

4.3.2 Bound verb roots

In contrast with free verb roots, all non-stative/non-resultative verb roots require affixation in order to function as predicates. Gayo obligatorily signals information about the nature of an event by means of a verbal affix. As a result, many verbs never function as predicates without an affix. Examples of bound roots include *-cerak* (*be-cerak* 'talk'), which typically takes the middle prefix *ber-* (§7.2) when it functions as a predicate, as in example (4-43); and the root *-tuh* (*mu-tuh* 'fall'), which typically takes the intransitive prefix *mu-* (§7.4), as in example (4-44):

- (4-43) *Be-cerak le renyel ine ni kekanak=ne.*
 MID-talk FOC then mother POSS child=earlier
 'The children's mother then talked.' (*be-cerak* 'talk')

- (4-44) *Nge mu-tuh per-inumne.*
 already INTR-fall NOM-drink:earlier
 'The drinking vessel has fallen.'

In descriptions of Austronesian languages, bound roots are often analysed as precategorial roots (e.g. Verhaar 1984; Foley 1998; Artawa 1998). Verhaar (1984:4) defines precategorial roots as bound roots from which items belonging to different lexical or syntactic categories can be derived, without one of the possible derivations from a given root being more basic than the other. Gayo roots are not precategorial as they can be included within the major category of verb on the basis of their morphological behaviour. That is, although they must undergo a process of affixation in order to function as words, they clearly belong to distinct lexical classes before any process of affixation. Evidence that bound roots are underlyingly verbal is outlined in the following.

Firstly, bound roots cannot be treated differently from free verb roots in their behaviour with affixes (cf. Clynes 1995). A given affix signals similar meanings when attached to bound roots or free verb roots, but markedly different meanings when attached to nouns. For example, (4-45a) and (4-45b) contain free and bound verb roots respectively, each bearing the locative suffix *-i* (§9.2). The semantics of the affixed bound roots is similar to that of free verb roots. However, when attached to nouns, the meaning signalled by the suffix is markedly different, as demonstrated in (4-45c). The constructions in (4-45a) and (4-45b) convey meanings of 'action toward a location', while in (4-45c) causative meaning is conveyed:

- | | | |
|-----------|--|-------------------------------------|
| (4-45) a. | <i>i-kunul-i</i> 'sit on (something)' | <i>kunul</i> 'sit (unaffixed VI)' |
| | <i>i-kerje-i</i> 'get married to (someone)' | <i>kerje</i> 'marry (unaffixed VI)' |
| b. | <i>i-tuh-i</i> 'fall on (something)' | <i>mu-tuh</i> 'fall (affixed VI)' |
| | <i>i-cerak-i</i> 'talk to (someone)' | <i>be-cerak</i> 'talk (affixed VI)' |
| c. | <i>i-awas-i</i> 'put spicy sauce on (something)' | <i>awas</i> 'spicy sauce (N)' |
| | <i>i-baju-i</i> 'put clothing on (someone)' | <i>baju</i> 'shirt, clothing (N)' |

The contrast in meaning between affixed verbs and nouns by a given affix is also seen with the intransitive prefix *mu-* (§7.4), which can indicate that the participant has no control over

the state of affairs described by the verb. The semantic information signalled by this prefix is the same for bound and free verb roots, as demonstrated in (4-46a and b). However, attached to nouns *mu-* signals 'possession' of the thing referred to by the affixed noun, as demonstrated in (4-46c):

- (4-46) a. *mu-tuh* 'fall' (-*tuh*)
 mu-seltu 'trip over' (-*seltu*)
- b. *mu-tutup* 'close' *tutup* 'closed (VI)'
 mu-beluh 'move involuntarily' *beluh* 'gone (VI)'
- c. *mu-sèn* 'have money' *sèn* 'money (N)'
 mu-keléték 'have slippers' *keléték* 'slippers (N)'

A second way in which these roots can be distinguished from nouns is by the fact that in some cases the allomorphic behaviour of an affix differs depending on the category of the root to which it is attached. This can be demonstrated with the intransitive prefix *mu-* (§7.4). Attached to a verb root *mu-* has strict allomorphic variation, but with nouns the rules of allomorphic variation are less rigid. The intransitive prefix *mu-* has two allomorphs (§2.3.1.1.4): with C-initial roots it is realised as *mu-*, and with V-initial roots it is realised as *m-*. With verbal bases this variation is strictly adhered to, but with nouns it is not. With V-initial nominal roots, the prefix can be realised as either *mu-* or *m-*. For example, the forms *mu-ama* and *m-ama* 'have a father' are equally acceptable. *M-alak* 'sweat', on the other hand, cannot be realised as **mu-alak*.

A number of *mu-* derivations denote uncontrolled actions, with certain verb roots denoting excretion. These derivations are distinct from other *mu-* derivations containing verb roots, as the roots have nominal counterparts, e.g. *oncos* 'urine (N)'; *m-oncos* 'urinate (V)', thus appearing that in fact the uncontrolled action meaning is derived from an affixed noun. With such derivations a possessive meaning cannot be interpreted, i.e. *m-oncos* cannot be interpreted as 'possess urine'. Furthermore, with the locative suffix *-i*, the suffix signals the meaning associated with verbal bases, and not nouns, i.e. *i-oncos-i* 'urinate on (something)' (§9.2.1.1). However, the allomorphic behaviour of this prefix provides evidence that these are in fact two formally identical roots that belong to two distinct word classes, i.e. a noun: *oncos* 'urine (N)' and a bound verb root: *-oncos* 'urinate (V)'.

With V-initial roots in excretion derivations, the decontrol prefix is realised as *m-*, and is not interchangeable with *mu-*. Consider example (4-47):

- (4-47) *m-alak* 'sweat' (**mu-alak*)
 m-oncos 'urinate' (**mu-oncos*)
 m-icing 'defecate' (**mu-icing*)

In one case a single form, based on the root *anak* 'offspring (N); give birth (V)', is ambiguous between the possessive meaning and the excretion meaning. The prefixed form *m-anak* means 'give birth (of animals)'. As with other V-initial excretion-denoting verbs, the prefix can only be realised as *m-*, and never *mu-*:

- (4-48) *Kôrô nge m-anak*.
 buffalo already INTR-give.birth
 'The buffalo has given birth.'

Unlike other excretion derivations, the same form can also convey a possessive meaning, i.e. 'to have a child'. However, there is a difference in the formal expression of the two

forms. The excretion-denoting verb meaning 'give birth' is always realised as *m-anak* (never **mu-anak*); while the possessive verb meaning 'possess children' (i.e. 'be a parent') is typically realised as *mu-anak*, and not *m-anak*, in order to avoid ambiguity.⁶ Consider example (4-49):

- (4-49) *Gëre ara mu-anak bujang.*
 not EXIST INTR-offspring boy
 '(They) didn't have a male child.' (IK:118)

Thus, the behaviour of the prefix *mu-* differs depending on whether the base it is attached to is a noun or a verb. The rules of allomorphy are more 'rigid' with verbal roots than with nominal roots, the prefix being more tightly linked to the verb root than a noun.

Another way in which bound roots cannot be considered precategorical lies in the fact that they feature more unusual morphological behaviour than other roots. Firstly, they can retain an intransitive affix in environments that nouns (and free verb roots) cannot, i.e. in verbal nominalisations (§4.3.3). Examples (4-50) and (4-51) contain NPs with affixed intransitive verbs functioning as their heads:

- (4-50) *Lagu si ikel pedih [be-cerak=ma].*
 way REL serious very MID-talk=2.PL.POSS
 'You are talking very seriously.'
- (4-51) *[Mu-sangka ni anak=é], mai=é asu sara.*
 INTR-run POSS offspring=3.POSS (UO-)carry=3.N.SUBJ dog one
 'When her child ran away, he (i.e. the child) took a dog.' (SLG:85)

Secondly, these roots can retain affixes where nouns cannot is when they are further prefixed by an intransitive affix. For example, in (4-52), the roots *-pangan* (*mumangan* 'AO:eat') and *-inum* (*m-inum* 'INTR-drink') retain the affixes they most commonly occur with when they function as predicates, and are further prefixed with *ber-*:

- (4-52) *Beluh mien si banan, gëre be-mangan, gëre be-m-inum.*
 gone again REL woman not MID-AO:eat not MID-INTR-drink
 'The woman went again, (she) didn't eat (or) drink.' (SLG:27)

In summary, bound roots in Gayo cannot be analysed as precategorical. A precategorical analysis implies that these roots do not acquire word category status until they undergo processes such as affixing. Bound roots in Gayo can be classified into distinct lexical categories on the basis of their combinatorial behaviour with affixes, and the meanings specified by the resulting forms. As such, the lexical entries of bound roots must include information about their basic category (N, V).

4.3.3 Nominalisation

Verbs in Gayo can be nominalised either by means of a nominalising affix (§4.2.3) or by zero-derivation in a nominalised-verb construction. In this section I describe nominalised-verb constructions. These involve a verb, either unaffixed or affixed with an intransitive

⁶ Often the construction is avoided altogether. The same meaning is expressed using the M/BI *buah hati* or (*buah até*) 'child, offspring' (lit. 'fruit of one's liver'):

Wè jema gëre mu-buah hati.
 3 person not INTR-fruit liver
 'He is a person without a child.'

verbal affix, which functions as the head of a NP. Except for nominalisations that refer to abstract activities (§4.3.3.4), verbs in these constructions are modified by a possessive phrase that represents a participant in the state of affairs described by the verb. The different types of nominalisations are only briefly outlined in the following sections. A full account of nominalisations in Gayo would involve a separate investigation in itself.

4.3.3.1 Action/state nominalisation

Verbs denoting actions or states can function as the heads of NPs denoting the state that ensues from the successful performance of the action, the result of the action, or the name of the action. The single participant in the state of affairs described by the nominalisation is expressed as a possessive phrase. In examples (4-53) and (4-54), the nominalisations refer to the names of the states described by the verb:

- (4-53) *Lagu besi [teger=é].*
 way iron strong=3.POSS
 'Its strength was like iron.' (IK:235)
- (4-54) *Ike kite dong we i sien, [matè=nte] lagu*
 if we.INCL stay EMPH LOC here dead=our.INCL way
[maté ni katak].
 dead POSS frog
 'If we stay here, we will die like frogs.' (lit. 'If we stay here, our death will be like the death of a frog.') (*maté* 'dead') (IK:60)

In examples (4-55) to (4-57) the nominalisations refer to the name of the action described by the verb:

- (4-55) *[Pikir ni Bujang Garip] gère nè tentu.*
 think POSS Bujang Garip not anymore certain
 'Bujang Garip's thinking wasn't certain anymore.' (*pikir* 'think') (IK:26)
- (4-56) *Gère le kasè i-betih ine=é urum ama=é*
 not FOC later UO-know mother=3.POSS and father=3.POSS
[beluh ni anak=ne].
 gone POSS offspring=earlier
 'Father and mother won't know that their child had gone.' (lit. 'Father and mother won't know their child's going.') (*beluh* 'gone') (SLG:86)
- (4-57) *Malè ku-rekam [cerak=é].*
 will UO.1-record talk=3.POSS
 'I will record their talking.' (*be-cerak* 'talk')

Questions involving a request for a particular item of information with reference to an event, a condition or individual are expressed as equative clauses whose argument is represented by a NP with a verbal head, a characteristic Gayo shares with Javanese (Poedjosoedarmo 1986:59). Consider examples (4-58) and (4-59):

- (4-58) *Selo [gèh=mu]?*
 when come=2.POSS
 'When did you get here?' (lit. 'When was your arrival?')

- (4-59) *Ku si [beluh=é]?*
 to where go=3.POSS
 'Where did he go?' (lit. 'Where was his going?') (SLG:189)

Nominalisations of verb roots denoting psychological/emotional states convey an aspectual difference from that which is normally associated with a particular verb. For example, stative verbs may be used in clauses describing punctual events when they are expressed as the arguments of the intransitive verb *sawah* 'arrive', which has the feature telicity in its semantic structure. This is demonstrated in (4-60a and b):

- (4-60) a. *Pôn=é=ne nge bengis.*
 uncle=3.POSS=earlier already angry
 'His uncle is angry.' (SLG:69)
- b. *Gèh pôn=é=ne, nge sawah [bengis=é].*
 come uncle=3.POSS=earlier already arrive angry=3.POSS
 '(When) his uncle came, he got angry.' (lit. '... his anger arrived') (SLG:71)

Nominalisations can also refer to the occurrence of the action described by the verb. With such nominalisations, the NP containing the verb typically occurs in the dislocated-topic position in a clause (§6.3.1). In such cases, the nominalisation denotes a backgrounded event in relation to the event described by the main clause, i.e. the nominalisation describes a state of affairs that either preceded, or is applicable during, the event described by the clause that follows it. Consider example (4-61):

- (4-61) *[Gèh ni cangcuit=ni,] cop-n=è paruh=é*
 come POSS k.o.bird=this (UO-)land-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ beak=3.POSS
ku ulung lumu=ne.
 to leaf taro=earlier
 '(When) the *cangcuit* came, it put its beak on the taro leaf.' (SLG:106)

In this environment a bound verb root can retain the affix it most typically occurs with when it functions as a predicate. Consider example (4-62):

- (4-62) *[Mu-sangka ni anak=é], i-mai=é asu sara.*
 INTR-run POSS offspring=3.POSS UO-carry:LOC=3.N.SUBJ dog one
 '(When) his child went, he (i.e. the child) took a dog.'

4.3.3.2 Manner nominalisation

Nominalised verbs can refer to the manner in which the action described by the verb is carried out. Consider example (4-63), which contains the intransitive verb *kunul* 'sit':

- (4-63) *[Kunul=é] gère rapat.*
 sit=3.POSS not close.together
 'They didn't sit close together'. (lit. 'Their (way of) sitting wasn't close together.') (IK:120)

In example (4-64) the bound verb root *-ralan* (*r[em]alan* 'walk') functions as the head of a NP, and in (4-65), the root *-sangka* (*mu-sangka* 'run'):

- (4-64) [Ralan=é] lagu langkah ni rëje ari atan umah kerëjen.
walk=3.POSS way step POSS king from top:POSS house kingdom
'His (way of) walking was like the steps of a king (coming) from the royal residence.' (IK:150)
- (4-65) Nge lagu [sangka ni akang] waktu bur mu-tèlong.
already way run POSS deer when mountain INTR-burn
'(It) was like the running of a deer when the mountain is on fire.'
(mu-tèlong 'burn') (IK:164)

A transitive verb root can function as the head of a nominalisation, specifying the way in which the participant usually carries out the act specified by the verb. Consider example (4-66):

- (4-66) Belene, gëre gentar [két=é].
Dutch not fierce bite=3.POSS
'The Dutch, their bite wasn't fierce.' (i-két 'bite')

In some cases bound roots can occur in these nominalisations retaining the affix they are linked to. This is demonstrated with *m-ayo* 'enter' in example (4-67):

- (4-67) Kune [m-ayo=mu] ku was=a?
how INTR-enter=2.POSS to inside=that
'How did you get inside?' (lit. 'How was your (way of) entering?') (SLG:79)

4.3.3.3 Exclamations

Exclamations are typically expressed as NPs. An exclamation can be expressed as a stative verb that is modified by a possessive phrase. Exclamations are described in further detail in §13.3:

- (4-68) [Ogoh=mu] pè uén!
stupid=2.POSS also/even boy
'How stupid you are boy!' (lit. 'Your stupidity boy!') (SLG:237)
- (4-69) Ine, [sakét ni tuke=ngku]!
mother sick POSS stomach=1.POSS
'Mother, how sore my stomach is!' (lit. 'Mother, the soreness of my stomach!') (SLG:214)

4.3.3.4 Abstract activities

Finally, nominalisations can involve a verb without an expressed participant. These refer to an abstract activity. Verbs in these constructions bear an intransitive affix. Consider examples (4-70) and (4-71):

- (4-70) [Be-demu] jëmen pudah=a gép ari kampung.
MID-meet age long.ago=that far from village
'Meeting (between unmarried men and women) in the olden days was done far from the village.' (IK:104)

- (4-71) [Mu-torop] mari [mangan] kemali.
 INTR-burp stop AO:eat taboo
 'Burping after eating is a taboo.'

Nominalisations denoting abstract activities can also be represented by transitive verbs, in which case the verb is actor-oriented. Consider example (4-72):

- (4-72) Mune-hèk-i beluh ku Bintang.
 AO-tired-LOC go to Bintang
 'It's tiring going to Bintang.' (hèk 'tired')

4.3.4 The absence of adjectives

Previous studies of Gayo (e.g. Asyik 1980; Makam 1982) refer to the class of stative verbs as 'adjectives'. Soravia (1984:55) analyses these as a subcategory of verbs, referring to them as 'adjectives' or 'verb-adjectives'. In many languages, no distinct class of adjectives can be established for words that denote the semantic properties of dimension, age, value, colour and physical attributes (Dixon 1977). In Gayo, these concepts are expressed as intransitive verbs. As Gayo has no inflectional morphology, there are no morphological characteristics that distinguish an adjective class, such as agreement in case or number. In this section I will demonstrate that words that denote 'adjectival' concepts clearly belong to the class of verbs, and cannot be characterised as forming a distinct word class.

Soravia (1984) remarks that 'adjectives' are distinguished by the fact that they can take the comparative suffix *-(n)en* (§9.3), as demonstrated with the form *pané* 'clever' in example (4-73):

- (4-73) Panè-n wè urum ko!
 clever-COMP 3 with 2
 'He is cleverer than you!'

Although comparative *-(n)en* typically marks stative verbs for comparison, it marks only those stative verbs that have the semantic feature of gradability (Croft 1991:63). Stative verbs such as *engkip* 'full' and *emis* 'asleep' cannot be marked by this suffix. Furthermore, the application of the affix is not restricted to stative verbs. For example, it can be attached to the modal verb *mera* 'want' (§12.2.3), as in example (4-74):

- (4-74) Urang Gayô mera-nan ber-empus ari be-dagang.
 person Gayo want-COMP MID-garden from MID-trade
 'The Gayo prefer cultivating gardens over engaging in trade.'

Thus, the fact that the comparative suffix *-(n)en* marks any word that has the semantic feature of gradability, in some cases cross-cutting other morphosyntactic features, means that the label 'adjective' for words that take the suffix is problematic.

Gayo words with meanings associated cross-linguistically with adjectives are indistinguishable from other intransitive verbs in their syntactic behaviour. There is no copular verb in Gayo that marks these forms when they function as predicates. Indeed, nouns and PPs are not in any sense marked when they function as predicates (§5.1). Words with 'adjectival' meanings are treated syntactically in the same way as other verbs when they occupy the descriptive slot of a complex NP, occurring within a relative clause (Chapter 14). Consider examples (4-75) and (4-76):

- (4-75) *batang si kôl*
 tree REL big
 'a big tree' (lit. 'a tree that is big') (IK:129)
- (4-76) *jema si munos wu*
 person REL AO:make fish.trap
 'a person who makes fish traps'

Some verbs that express adjectival meanings are marked by verbal morphology; for example, *mu-lapé* 'hungry' and *mu-gile* 'crazy' both take the intransitive prefix *mu-* (§7.4). The classification of the morphologically simple stative verbs as adjectives does not take into consideration those gradable concepts that are expressed as morphologically complex words.

In conclusion, there are no grounds to distinguish a distinct grammatically based category of adjectives. Words that denote concepts expressed as adjectives in many languages are expressed as verbs in Gayo. Verbs denoting states and attributes are mostly morphologically simple forms. They are described in §4.3.1.

4.4 Minor word classes

4.4.1 Adverbs

Adverbs in Gayo are a closed class of morphologically simple forms that modify predicates and larger units of discourse. Many of the meanings conveyed by adverbs cross-linguistically are expressed by other constituents such as subordinate clauses (§16.1) and prepositional phrases (Chapter 11). Adverbs in Gayo are morphologically simple forms that modify constituents other than nouns (Schachter 1985:22).⁷ The adverbs in Gayo are described in the following.

4.4.1.1 Adverbs of time

Adverbs of time specify times in close proximity to the event frame. These are given in Table 4-3:

Table 4-3: Adverbs of time

<i>kasè, kahè</i>	'later'
<i>sè, sè=ni</i>	'now', 'now=this' (more common in the Bukit and Dëret dialects)
<i>besilô, besilô=ni</i>	'now', 'now=this' (more common in the Cik dialect)
<i>sine, (or hine), =ne</i>	'earlier'

Examples (4-77) to (4-79) demonstrate the use of some of these adverbs:

- (4-77) *I-dere=è kahè ko.*
 UO-hit=3.N.SUBJ later 2
 'He is going to hit you later.'

⁷ However, the temporal adverb *sine* 'earlier' can modify nouns, functioning as a determiner (§10.5).

- (4-78) *Sè=ni aku ulak ku negeré=ngku.*
 now=this I return to country=I.POSS
 ‘Now I will return to my country.’ (SLG:192)
- (4-79) *Sine ko beluh mun-angô uéh urum baju rèbèk.*
 earlier 2 gone AO-fetch water with shirt torn
 ‘Earlier you fetched water with torn clothes.’ (IK:179)

The adverb *sine* ‘earlier’ has a shortened enclitic form *=ne*, which is attached to the VP that it modifies, as demonstrated in examples (4-80) and (4-81):

- (4-80) *Sana si i-tos=ko=ne uén?*
 what REL UO-make=2.N.SUBJ=earlier boy
 ‘What is that you made earlier, boy?’
- (4-81) *Ken aku=ne, ‘Gère gèh ari empus ilen paké=a’.*
 say I=earlier not come from garden yet 3.PL=that
 ‘I said earlier, “They haven’t come from the garden yet”.’

4.4.1.2 Adverbs of frequency

Adverbs of frequency are either morphologically simple, or derived morphologically from numerals and epistememes. There are six adverbs in Gayo that denote frequency. These are listed in Table 4-4:

Table 4-4: Adverbs of frequency

<i>gati</i>	often
<i>dor</i>	always
<i>sabi</i>	always
<i>lajim</i>	usually/very frequently
<i>mejen</i>	sometimes, at some stage
<i>jarang</i>	rarely

Examples (4-82) and (4-83) are examples of their use:

- (4-82) *M-urip ni se-sara jema dor ber-ubah.*
 INTR-live POSS RED-one person always MID-change
 ‘People’s lives are always changing.’ (Métun)
- (4-83) *Akang kôl-kucak ... mejen mumangan, mejen mu-tangak.*
 deer big-small sometimes AO:eat sometimes INTR-look.up
 ‘The deer which were big and small ... were sometimes eating, sometimes looking up.’ (IK:49)

Adverbs of frequency can be derived by attaching the frequentative circumfix *mu(n)-...-(e)n* to a numeral base. Consider the examples in (4-84) and (4-85):

- (4-84) *Si be-geral Seltan Genali Siah, mu-roa-n be-tempat.*
 REL MID-name sultan Genali Shah FREQ-two MID-marry
 ‘The one who was named Sultan Genali Shah was twice married.’

- (4-85) *Seger, mu-roa-n, lagu oya sabi.*
 once FREQ-two like that always
 'Once, twice, (it) was always like that.' (IK:183)

The frequentative circumfix can be attached to the epistememe *pien* 'how much/many', deriving *mu-pien-en* 'how often, how many times?':

- (4-86) *Nge mu-pien=ni urang Linge=ni gèh mununtut*
 already FREQ-how.many=this people Linge=this come AO:demand
ku Serule.
 to Serule
 'How many times has it been now that the people of Linge have come to Serule demanding (things).' (Linge)

The frequentative adverbs often act as quantifiers to the noun *belit* 'times' (lit. 'turn, coil'), to form a complex adverbial expression, e.g. *mu-roa-n belit* 'twice, two times', *mu-tulu-n belit* 'three times'.

4.4.1.3 Sentence adverbs

Sentence adverbs occupy the initial position of a sentence. Sentence adverbs in Gayo include *kupen/rupen* 'apparently', *buge(-buge)* 'hopefully', *kedang* 'perhaps, maybe' and *mungkén* 'perhaps, maybe'. These adverbs express the speaker's attitude toward the state of affairs represented by the clause. Consider examples (4-87) and (4-88):

- (4-87) *Kedang i-betih=è ton pe-juang gerilya.*
 perhaps UO-know=3.N.SUBJ place T.TEXT-struggle guerilla
 'Perhaps he will know where the guerillas will fight.' (IK:68)
- (4-88) *Buge uren turun ku denie.*
 hopefully rain descend to world
 'Hopefully the rain will come down to the earth.' (IK:111)

4.4.1.4 Aspectual and modal adverbs

A number of adverbs are used for signalling aspectual and modal meanings. These modify predicates, and they typically precede the predicate they modify. In example (4-89), the predicate is modified by the aspectual adverb *nge*, which signals perfect aspect. Aspect is discussed in detail in §12.1.

- (4-89) *Re-roa-n=é nge suami-isteri.*
 RED-two-NAS=3.POSS already husband-wife
 'The two of them are husband and wife.' (SLG:192)

In example (4-90), the predicate is modified by the modal adverb *turah* 'must'. Modality is discussed in detail in §12.2.

- (4-90) *Kite turah ulak k=umah.*
 we.INCL must return to=house
 'We must go home.' (SLG:232)

4.4.1.5 Various adverbial particles

A range of adverbial particles are used to express a range of meanings. These are described in relevant sections throughout this grammar. A range of adverbial particles that are used to specify discourse meanings are described in §12.4.

4.4.2 Epistememes

The term epistememe (Mushin 1995) is a label for words that can function as interrogatives or indefinite pronouns. In this section the non-interrogative functions of the epistememes are described. Interrogatives are described in §13.2. The epistememes differ from other categories in that they cross-cut the word-class categories, i.e. they belong to a number of different word-classes. These are given in Table 4-5 with their variant forms.

Table 4-5: Epistememes

Full form	Short form	Meaning	Syntactic category	Short form with particle	Meaning
<i>sahan</i>	<i>sa</i>	'who'	noun	<i>sah pè</i>	'whoever'
<i>sanahan/hanahan</i>	<i>sana/hana</i>	'what'	noun	<i>sanah pè</i>	'whatever'
<i>kunehen</i>	<i>kune</i>	'how'	noun	<i>kuneh pè</i>	'however'
<i>selohen</i>	<i>selo</i>	'when'	adverb	<i>seloh pè</i>	'whenever'
<i>sihen</i>	<i>si</i>	'where'	adverb	<i>sih pè</i>	'wherever'
<i>sesihen</i>	<i>si</i>	'which'	demonstrative		
<i>pien</i>		'how many'	quantifier		
<i>sekidah/sidah</i>		'how much'	quantifier		

All of the forms listed in Table 4-5, except for the quantifiers *pien* 'how many' and *sekidah/sidah* 'how much', are characterised by the fact that their full forms end with *hen*, or *han* if the syllable that precedes it contains the vowel *a*. In casual speech, the final element *hen/han* is often deleted, i.e. the short form is used. The form *sanahan* 'what' is also realised as *hanahan* in informal contexts. A further optional variant form may also be used when the epistememe is followed by a particle, where the final *en* or *an* is deleted. In Table 4-5, this is exemplified with the particle *pè* 'also/even' (§12.4.1.3). The non-interrogative functions of the epistememes are described in the following sections. Interrogatives are described in detail in §13.2.

4.4.2.1 Formal properties of epistememes

There is a tendency for intervocalic *s* to be replaced with *h* in words belonging to minor word classes such as epistememes and adverbs. This tendency varies between the dialects. An example of this is the variant form of *kasè* 'later', *kahè*. This variation also occurs in casual speech between word boundaries:

- (4-91) *i* *si?* → *i* *hi?*
 LOC where LOC where
 'where?'

- (4-92) *ku si?* → *ku hi?*
to where to where
'whither?'
- (4-93) *Oya selo mera* → *Oya helo mera?*
that when want that when want
'When would (s/he) want (to do) that?'

The full form can also occur as an indefinite pronoun with the modifying particle *pè*:

- (4-94) *Sahan-sahan si mu-sangka mu-jadi pejuang gerilya.*
RED-who REL INTR-run AO-become fighter guerilla
'Those that ran (away) became guerrilla fighters.' (IK:65)

4.4.2.2 Epistememes in complement constructions

Epistememes can function as indefinite pronouns in clausal complements of some verbs of knowledge or communication:

- (4-95) *Kasè ku-osah këber selo kite lepas mu-demu.*
later UO.1-give news when we.INCL free AO-meet
'Later I will send news of when we will be free to meet'
- (4-96) *Ku-èngon kune potongen ni Èntan Berlian.*
UO.1-see how model POSS Èntan Berlian
'I saw how the sculpture of Èntan Berlian was.' (SLG:88)
- (4-97) *Gère i-betih=è ku si ulu=é nomé.*
not UO-know=3.N.SUBJ to where head=3.POSS AO:lie.down
He doesn't know where his head is lying.' (Idiomatic, meaning: 'He is in a state of confusion.') (Soravia 1984)

4.4.2.3 Indefinite pronominal functions with the particle *pè* 'also/even'

A common strategy of forming indefinite pronouns cross-linguistically is by marking an interrogative pronoun with a focus particle (Haspelmath 1997). In Gayo, the particle *pè* 'also/even' (§12.4.1.3) can be placed after an epistememe to convey an indefinite pronominal function, as in examples (4-98) and (4-99). The reference of the indefinite pronoun is non-specific. Such indefinites may be negated, and this is the only way of forming a negative indefinite pronoun (4-100). The epistememe in such cases is typically realised as the variant short form that occurs with particles, as listed in Table 4.5. This is demonstrated in examples (4-98) to (4-100):

- (4-98) *Sanah pè buet i onè i-buet-n=è.*
what also/even work LOC there UO-work-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ
'Whatever work was there, he did (it).'
- (4-99) *Ke kuneh pè, aku tanggung-jëwep.*
BCKGR how also/even I responsible-answer
'However (the situation will be), I will be responsible.'

- (4-100) *Gëre ara sah pè i umah.*
 not EXIST who also/even LOC house
 'There's nobody in the house.'

4.4.2.4 *sana* 'what' in lists

The interrogative pronoun *sana* 'what' is often used to mean 'whatever else' when listing entities. The meaning conveyed is that the list is exhaustive. Only the short form of the epistememe is used in such cases, as demonstrated in example (4-101):

- (4-101) *Kumpul-en barang, kumpul-en asu, kumpul-en*
 (UO-)gather-CAUS1 thing (UO-)gather-CAUS1 dog (UO-)gather-CAUS1
sana.
 what
 'Gather the things, get the dogs together, gather whatever (else)' (Depik)

4.4.3 Numerals

The numerals constitute a semi-closed class. There are two numeral systems in Gayo: an indigenous system, and what can be termed a 'Malayised Gayo' system. The existence of two systems in a single language is common cross-linguistically. For example, in Japanese, a native system exists alongside an imported Chinese system up to ten. Counting above ten is exclusively in the Chinese system (Kaiser 2001). The native Gayo system contains nine cardinal numerals, while Malayised Gayo begins at one, and extends to units in the thousands and millions. The cardinal numbers of the native Gayo and Malayised Gayo systems, as well as the Malay/Bahasa Indonesia system are listed in Table 4-6 for comparison.

Table 4-6: Cardinal numbers in Gayo, 'Malayised Gayo' and Malay/Bahasa Indonesia

	Native Gayo	Malayised Gayo	Malay/Bahasa Indonesia
1	<i>sara</i>	<i>satu</i>	<i>satu</i>
2	<i>roa</i>	<i>due</i>	<i>dua</i>
3	<i>tulu</i>	<i>tige</i>	<i>tiga</i>
4	<i>opat</i>	<i>empat</i>	<i>empat</i>
5	<i>lime</i>	<i>lime</i>	<i>lima</i>
6	<i>onom</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>enam</i>
7	<i>pitu</i>	<i>tujuh</i>	<i>tujuh</i>
8	<i>waloh</i>	<i>lapan</i>	<i>delapan</i>
9	<i>siwah</i>	<i>semilen/sembilen</i>	<i>sembilan</i>
10	--	<i>sepuluh</i>	<i>sepuluh</i>

The native Gayo numeral system is typically used for small numbers of items, for example counting animals, goods, the number of people in a family etc. The Malayised Gayo system is generally used when larger numbers of things are involved. It is also used in domains not associated with traditional Gayo culture, for example in telling the time, counting years and dates, comparing people's ages, prices on goods, and counting weights and measures in the metric system, and are used in complex numbers.

Numerals can occur as the heads of number phrases, which occur in complex NPs (Chapter 10). In the following sections I discuss complex numerals, ordinal numbers and fractions.

4.4.3.1 Complex numerals

The complex numerals are represented by a number of forms which function as measure nouns. Native Gayo forms do not occur for complex numbers. All of the complex numerals listed in Table 4-7 belong to the Malayised Gayo system.

Table 4-7: Complex numerals

<i>puluh</i>	tens
<i>belas</i>	teens (11–19)
<i>ratus</i>	hundreds
<i>ribu</i>	thousands
<i>laksa</i>	ten thousands
<i>laksén</i>	hundred thousands
<i>juta</i>	millions

The complex numerals are typically quantified by the numerals of the Malayised Gayo system, e.g. *tujuh ribu due puluh* ‘seven thousand and twenty’ (the Gayo form is not allowed: **pitu ribu due puluh*). Complex numerals denoting thousands and higher can be quantified by the native Gayo numerals in their rounded forms. For instance, when quoting a price, either *pitu ribu* or *tujuh ribu* ‘seven thousand’ can be used. When the numeral *satu* ‘one’ modifies a complex numeral, it is expressed as a clitic: *se* =. Example (4-102) contains examples of complex numerals in Gayo:

(4-102)	<i>se=puluh</i>	10
	<i>se=belas</i>	11
	<i>lime belas</i>	15
	<i>due puluh</i>	20
	<i>*roa puluh</i>	(20)
	<i>se=ratus</i>	100
	<i>lapan ribu</i>	8000
	<i>empat ribu tige ratus semilen puluh satu</i>	4391

4.4.3.2 Ordinal numbers and fractions

The ordinal numbers in Gayo are borrowed from Malay. However, ‘first’ is interchangeable between the Malay borrowing *pertama*, and the native Gayo form *pemulo*.⁸ Table 4-8 contains the ordinal numbers up to *kelime* ‘fifth’.

⁸ *mulo* ‘first’

Table 4-8: Ordinal numbers

<i>pertama</i>	'first'
<i>kedue</i>	'second'
<i>ketige</i>	'third'
<i>kempat</i>	'fourth'
<i>kelime</i>	'fifth'

Fractions are formed by attaching the prefix *per-* to the denominator. As these forms are borrowed from M/BI, the final *r* of the prefix *per-* is not dropped before a C-initial root (as the Gayo prefix *per-* does; see §2.3.1.1.1). Fractions have the pattern: (numerator) *per-* (denominator). A numerator with singular reference is represented by the clitic *se=* 'one'. Examples of fractions include *tige per-lime* 'three fifths', *se=per-empat* 'a quarter' and *se=per-tige* 'a third'.

4.4.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers constitute a closed class of words. They are distinguished by the fact that their members can occupy the measure slot of a complex NP (§10.2). There are two subclasses of quantifiers that can modify the head of a NP. These are categorised according to their syntactic properties, and following Partee (1995) are referred to as A(dverbial)-quantifiers and D(eterminer)-quantifiers. A-quantifiers are a subset of adverbs. A D-quantifier occupies the measure slot of a complex NP. These two types of quantifiers are described in turn in the following sections.

4.4.4.1 A-quantifiers

The forms listed in Table 4-9 constitute the set of A-quantifiers.

Table 4-9: A-quantifiers

<i>delé</i>	'much, many'
<i>tikik</i>	'a little'
<i>sèba</i>	'some'
<i>bèwèn*</i>	'all of'

**bèwèn* 'all of' is a bound morpheme. It is always modified by a possessive phrase.

Some of the A-quantifiers are exemplified in (4-103) and (4-104). In the following examples, the quantifiers are in **bold**.

(4-103) **Delé** *bele i lah ni dené.*

many disaster LOC middle POSS road

'There were many disasters on the way.' (IK:129)

(4-104) **Tikik** *ilmu=ngku=ni malè ku-osah-an ku ton*

a.little knowledge=1.POSS=this will UO.1-give-CAUS1 to place

tembuné=ngku.

umbilicus=1.POSS

'I will give a little of my knowledge to (the people of) my birthplace.' (Ijô)

A-quantifiers are distinguished by a number of features, apart from their function as adnominal modifiers. They can function as predicates, as in (4-105); or occur within a relative clause, as in (4-106):

- (4-105) *Gëre delé ilmu=é.*
 not much knowledge=3.POSS
 'They don't know much.' (lit. 'Their knowledge is not much.')

- (4-106) *Reta si tikik nge mu-jadi delé.*
 wealth REL a.little already INTR-become much
 '(His) small amount of wealth has become much.' (Métun)

A noun that is quantified by an A-quantifier can be ellipsed, as in (4-107):

- (4-107) *Ara sèba ku Linge, Samarkilang, ara sèba mi ku Betung.*
 EXIST some to Linge Samarkilang EXIST some more to Betung
 'Some (people) went to Linge and Samar Kilang, some more went to Betung.'
 (IK:100)

Another feature of A-quantifiers is that they can 'float' from their head. For example, in (4-108) the quantifier *delé* 'many' is separated from its head by an intensifying particle and a verb phrase. Measure phrase floating is discussed in §10.2.

- (4-108) *Delé pedih ku-èngon kutu=mu.*
 many very UO.1-see louse=2.POSS
 'I see your many lice.' (Métun)

The universal quantifier *bèwèn* 'all of' is a bound morpheme. It cannot function as a NP on its own, and requires a modifying possessive enclitic that is co-referential with its head, as outlined in Table 4-10.

Table 4-10: The universal quantifier *bèwèn* 'all of ...'

<i>bèwèn=te</i>	'both/all of us (INCL)'
<i>bèwèn=kami</i>	'both/all of us (EXCL)'
<i>bèwèn=mu</i>	'both/all of you'
<i>bèwèn=ma</i>	'both/all of you (polite)'
<i>bèwèné</i>	'both/all (of them)'

Example (4-109) contains an example of this quantifier's use:

- (4-109) *Bèwèn=mu bangsa ni benatang wan uten=ni, bantu*
 all.of=2.POSS nation POSS animal inside:POSS forest=this (UO-)help
sudëre=mu.
 companion=2.POSS
 'All of you nation of animals in this forest, help your companions.' (IK:149)

When modified by *bèwèn*, the head of the NP is typically left unexpressed, since the possible reference of this quantifier is significantly narrowed by the fact that it always takes an enclitic referring to the quantified head:

- (4-110) *Bèwèn=é mu-siut.*
 all=3.POSS INTR-burn
 ‘All of them are burnt.’

The third person form *bèwèn=é* is somewhat less marked than with the other persons, as it can be extended to other than third person reference. Consider (4-111):

- (4-111) *Kami sèhat-sèhat bèwèn=é.*
 we.EXCL RED-healthy all=3.POSS
 ‘We are all healthy.’ (IK:145)

The form *bèwèn=é* functions as an indefinite pronoun, referring to things in general:

- (4-112) *Bèwèn=é nge turah i-buet-en.*
 all=3.POSS already must UO-work-CAUS1
 ‘Everything must be done.’ (Métun)

4.4.4.2 D-quantifiers

D-quantifiers are distinguished from A-quantifiers by the fact that they cannot float, nor can they be used predicatively. They occupy the measure slot within a complex NP, i.e. the position immediately preceding the head.

Table 4-11: D-quantifiers

<i>pien</i>	‘some, an indeterminate number of (count nouns)’
<i>sekidah/ sidah</i>	‘some, (non-count nouns)’
<i>seluruh</i>	‘all of, the entire ...’
<i>segële</i>	‘every, all (of different kinds of things)’
<i>jep</i>	‘each’

Some of the D-quantifiers are exemplified in (4-113) and (4-114). In these examples, the quantifiers are in boldface:

- (4-113) *R[em]alan **pien** ratus kilomètèr.*
 INTR-walk some hundred kilometre
 ‘(They) walked a number of hundred kilometres.’ (IK:5)
- (4-114) *Siep-en alat, **segële** alat.*
 (UO-)ready-CAUS1 instrument all instrument
 ‘Prepare the instruments, all the instruments.’ (Depik)

4.4.5 Demonstratives

Demonstratives form a small class of words. They function as determiners or adjuncts. There are two types of demonstratives: those that specify spatial or referential distance and similitive demonstratives.

4.4.5.1 Locational demonstratives

The locational demonstratives can function as NPs or can occupy the determiner slot of a complex NP (§10.5). The demonstratives are outlined in Table 4-12.

Table 4-12: Locational demonstratives

Independent form	Clitic	Meaning
<i>ini</i>	= <i>ni</i>	'this (close to the speaker)'
<i>oya</i>	= <i>a</i>	'that (distal from speaker)'
<i>sia</i>	= <i>sa</i>	'there (distal from speaker and addressee)'
<i>so, ho</i>		'yonder (far, out of view of speaker and addressee)'

All of the demonstratives can have spatial deictic functions, and *ini* 'this' and *oya* 'that' can specify textual deixis. Three of the four demonstratives have clitic forms. Some of the demonstratives are exemplified in (4-115) to (4-117):

- (4-115) *Oya nge ku-tos kin diré=ngku.*
 that already UO.1-make for self=1.POSS
 'I made that for myself.'
- (4-116) *Osah toké ini, si wan kaca=sa.*
 (UO-)give trader this REL inside glass=that
 'Give (me) this, which is in the glass (display).' (SLG:48)
- (4-117) *So sudère ni kami.*
 yon relative POSS we.INCL
 'That is a relative of ours.' (IK:59)

The demonstratives can also be used when referring to people. In (4-118), *ini* 'this' refers to a person who is with the speaker and the interlocutor; in (4-119), *so* 'yonder' refers to a third person who is far away from the speaker and the interlocutor; and in (4-120), *sia* 'there' refers to a person:

- (4-118) *Kerje urum ini pè nge be-berapa tòn.*
 marry with this also/even already RED-how.many year
 '(He) has been married to her for a number of years.' (SLG:207)
- (4-119) *Aku gecik tengah=a baru so.*
 1 village.chief long.ago=that then yon
 'I was village chief before, then he (who is far away).'
- (4-120) *Ni sia=ne baru senang até=wé.*
 POSS that=earlier then happy liver=3.POSS
 'As for him (there), he was then happy.' (SLG:94)

Apart from their function as demonstratives, the forms *sia* 'there' and *so* 'yonder' can also function as adjuncts of location. The demonstratives *ini* 'this' and *oya* 'that' can also denote locational settings when they occur as dislocated topic NPs (§6.3.1). In (4-121) and (4-122), the meanings, *ini* 'here, this place', and *oya* 'there, that place' are conveyed:

- (4-121) *Ini, ke gadung pè ara i-emah=è Inen Ipak ge?*
 this BCKGR cassava also/even EXIST UO-take=3.N.SUBJ Inen Ipak TAG
 'He brought some cassava here Inen Ipak, didn't he?' (i.e. 'Here, cassava he brought ...')

- (4-122) *Oya ku son pora abang gajah.*
 that to there a.little older.brother elephant
 'Go over there a little Brother Elephant.' (lit. 'There, go over there a little Brother Elephant.') (Pelanuk)

All of the demonstratives can occur in the determiner slot of a complex NP, modifying head nouns that denote the names of a people and places, signalling their proximity to the speaker. In examples (4-123) and (4-124), the scope of the demonstrative is over NPs denoting physical locations:

- (4-123) *Selo sawah wè ku Takèngni?*
 when arrive 3 to Takengon: this
 'When did she arrive (here) in Takengon?'
 (4-124) *Aku jèmen ku bur ho.*
 I long.ago to mountain yon
 'I, long ago, (went) to that mountain.'

Personal pronouns can be modified by a determiner, signalling the physical location of the entity referred to by the noun head in relation to the speaker:

- (4-125) *Wè i Acéh Timur, kite=ni i Acéh Tengah.*
 3 LOC Aceh east we.INCL=this LOC Aceh centre
 'They are in East Aceh, we (here) are in Central Aceh.'
 (4-126) *Aku=ni ku Jagong.*
 I=this to Jagong
 'I'm (going) to Jagong.'

In (4-127), the *so* 'yonder' specifies that the speaker is referring to a third person:

- (4-127) *Ku-juel-en anu=ni, Inen Ipak ho.*
 UO.I-fetch-CAUS1 what's.her.name=this Inen Ipak yon
 'I'll be getting what's her name, Inen Ipak.'

The demonstratives *ini* (clitic form: =*ni*) *oya* (clitic form: =(w)a) 'that' can have discourse deictic functions (Himmelfmann 1996). The proximal demonstrative *ini*/=*ni* is used where a referent is introduced, and is restated as the central topic of discourse:

- (4-128) *Mu-pakat ketor, gèh kenè ketor=ni, 'Keta*
 INTR-gather shellfish come say shellfish=this then
ke nge beta ...
 BCKGR already thus
 'The shellfish gathered, these shellfish said "If that's the case ..."' (Pelanuk)
 (4-129) *Mèh umur ni Kawé Tepat=ni i Pulô Linge=ni.*⁹
 finished age POSS Kawé Tepat=this LOC island Lingga=this
 'Kawé Tepat died on the Isle of Lingga.' (Both of the referents are marked by =*ni* 'this' as they are both central topics of the discourse)

Oya/=(w)a 'that' is used to mark previously mentioned entities in discourse, as demonstrated in (4-130) and (4-131):

⁹ In Gayo legend, the region of Linge is named after the island of *Lingga* in Malaysia, whence the first Gayo man originated.

- (4-130) *Wè i-pangsiunkan*¹⁰ *ku sara pulô, gère i-betih=è*
 3 UO-pensioned.off to one island not UO-know=3.N.SUBJ
geral ni pulô=a.
 name POSS island=that
 'He was pensioned off to an island, he didn't know the name of that island.'
- (4-131) *Oya gère te-betih paké si delé=a.*
 that not DC.UO-know person REL many=that
 'That wasn't known by those people.' (IK:238)

Names of people who are known to both the speaker and the listener often take the demonstrative pronoun =a 'that' when newly introduced into the immediate discourse context. Other demonstratives are used to mark the place of the participant within the text:

- (4-132) *Gelah beluh Inen Mayak=a pè.*
 let gone Inen Mayak=that also/even
 'Inen Mayak can go too.'
- (4-133) *Gère i-betih paké=a si lèn=a Inen Mayak=sa.*
 not UO-know person=that REL different=that Inen Mayak=that
 'They didn't know Inen Mayak (yet).'

4.4.5.2 Similitive demonstratives

There are two similitive demonstratives in Gayo. These are *besè* 'like this' and *beta* 'like that'. These forms typically function adverbially, and are used when demonstrating similitude. Consider examples (4-134) and (4-135):

- (4-134) *I-selesè-n=è besè.*
 UO-complete-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ like.this
 'He finished (it) like this.'
- (4-135) *Kunul atan ni doyah=ne beta.*
 sit top:POSS POSS hut=earlier like.that
 '(They) sat on top of the hut like that.'

The similitive demonstratives can also function as predicates in equative clauses (§5.1.1), as in (4-136):

- (4-136) *Aman Mayak=ni pè besè.*
 Aman Mayak=this also/even like.this
 'Aman Mayak was also like this.'

4.4.5.3 The demonstrative particle *mana*

The particle *mana*, which I refer to as the 'demonstrative particle', is used in conjunction with the demonstrative pronouns listed in Table 4-12. The particle has an emphatic function, and is used when physically pointing out a location. Examples (4-137) and (4-138) were uttered in contexts where the speaker was physically pointing to the thing they were referring to with the demonstrative:

¹⁰ *i-pangsiunkan*: M/BI *pangsiun* 'pension' + *-kan* Applicative

- (4-137) *Ara pemesam oya mana.*
 EXIST INSTR:warm that DEM
 'There's a rice warmer over there.'
- (4-138) *So mana wè i pucuk ni bur so.*
 yon DEM 3 LOC peak POSS mountain yon
 'He is at the peak of the mountain over there.' (IK:69)

4.4.6 Interjections

Interjections are words that can occur as utterances on their own. Some of these are exclamatory (§13.3), and others are used to get animals to do things. Some of these are listed in (4-139):

- (4-139) *yoh, yah* expression of surprise.
ino 'Oh dear', expression of worry.
alah, ëleh expression of disapproval or annoyance.
tabi 'Excuse me', polite expression said when walking
 in front of people who are sitting down.
hus, us sound made to shoo away hens and cattle.
wi sound made to make a buffalo turn left.

Part II:
The clause

5 *Simple clause types*

This chapter outlines simple clause types. The clause in Gayo minimally consists of a predicate, and can contain up to three arguments. The term ‘predicate’ is used in this grammar to refer to the predicated element of a clause, which governs the selection of arguments, and is represented by a verb, an NP or a PP. Arguments are defined as those elements of a clause that are required by the predicate. They are typically represented by NPs, but can also be represented by PPs and clauses. Verbal clauses in Gayo can contain one, two or three direct arguments, one of which functions as the subject (with the exception of ambient clauses (§5.2.3) and phrasal-verb constructions (§5.2.4.2), which do not contain subjects). Transitive clauses contain a second non-subject argument, which binds to the predicate to form a complex VP. Non-subjects are expressed as NPs, typically pronominal clitics. Non-verbal clauses are described in §5.1 and verbal clauses in §5.2.

5.1 Non-verbal clauses

In this section non-verbal clauses are described. Equative clauses, i.e. clauses containing predicating NPs, are described in §5.1.1. Clauses containing predicating PPs are described in §5.1.2.

5.1.1 NPs as predicates: equative clauses

Equative clauses consist of two NPs in apposition, with no pause in between the two NPs. Predicates in equative clauses assert information about the identity or an identifying characteristic of the referent of the argument. The predicate is identified by the fact that it is the constituent that bears focal stress (§2.2.1). The argument in a nominal clause is topical, and accordingly is unstressed. The argument in an equative clause typically precedes the predicate. Consider examples (5-1) to (5-3):

(5-1) *Geral=é Kadir.*
 name=3.POSS Kadir
 ‘His name is Kadir.’

(5-2) *Wè jema rawan.*
 3 person male
 ‘He is a man.’ (Ijô)

- (5-3) *Kurik=ni, tai=é mas.*
 chicken=this shit=3.POSS gold
 'This chicken, its shit is gold.' (SLG:62)

Equative clauses can be used to introduce a person or thing to the interlocutor, and are often accompanied by the speaker pointing to the thing that they are referring to. The argument of such a clause is expounded by the demonstratives *ini* 'this' or *oya* 'that' (§4.4.5). Consider examples (5-4) and (5-5):

- (5-4) *Ini ke-kéber-en ni anak yatim.*
 this RED-news-IMIT POSS child orphan
 'This is a story about an orphan.' (IK:34)

- (5-5) *Oya bagén=mu.*
 that share=2.POSS
 'That is your share.' (Pelanuk)

An NP predicate can also precede its argument, in which case it is marked by the focus particle *le* (§12.4.1.1). Consider examples (5-6) and (5-7):

- (5-6) *Pulô ini le Pulô Ruje.¹*
 island this FOC island cloth=earlier
 'This island is Cloth Island (i.e. Sumatra)!'

- (5-7) *Karang le ini!*
 sloping.bank FOC this
 'This is a sloping bank!' (Pelanuk)

The predicate in an equative clause is negated with *nume* (§13.4.2):

- (5-8) *Si Métun-métun nume anak si i-lahir-n=è.*
 TITLE Métun-métun not offspring REL UO-born-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ
 'Si Métun-métun wasn't the child that she had given birth to.'

Equative clauses can have a numeral or quantifier as their predicate. Clauses with this pattern assert the number or quantity of the entity specified by the NP that is possessed by the referent of the possessive NP. Consider examples (5-9) and (5-10):

- (5-9) *Anak=ku lime.*
 offspring=1.POSS five
 'I have five children.'

- (5-10) *Sèn=mu nge delé.*
 money=2.POSS already much
 'You have a lot of money.'

Possessive phrases (§10.3) can also function as predicates. These assert that the referent of the argument belongs to the referent of the predicated possessive NP:

- (5-11) *Ini ni aku.*
 this POSS 1
 'This is mine.'

¹ *Pulô Ruje*: (lit. 'Cloth Island') Traditional Gayo name for Sumatra.

5.1.2 PPs as predicates

Clauses can contain a predicate represented by a PP. Local PP predicates occur in clauses that assert the location of the referent of the argument, as demonstrated in (5-12) and (5-13):

- (5-12) *Konyèl i wan rège.*
 k.o.bark² LOC inside basket
 'The *konyèl* is in the basket.'

- (5-13) *Doa ni guru=a pè ari Suléman=a.*
 spell POSS shaman=that also/even from Sulaiman=that
 'The spells of shamans are from Sulaiman.'

Predicating PPs are often preceded by the perfect aspect marker *nge* (§12.1.2):

- (5-14) *Pedang nge i pumu.*
 sword already LOC hand
 'The sword was in (his) hand.' (SLG:29)

PP predicates headed by *kin* 'as' (§11.2.2) ascribe some function or social position to the referent of the argument:

- (5-15) *Ko kin imem.*
 2 as leader
 'You be the leader (i.e. in the congregational prayer).'
- (5-16) *Wè nge kin tenelen=ku.*
 3 already as landlord=1.POSS
 'He is my landlord.'

5.2 Verbal clauses

This section describes verbal clauses. Different types of verbal clauses are grouped according to the number and types of arguments they contain. Grammatical relations are described in §5.2.1 and transitivity in Gayo is defined in §5.2.2. The remainder of this section describes simple verbal clause types. Ambient clauses contain a single core constituent, a predicate. These are described in §5.2.3. The various types of intransitive clauses are described in §5.2.4, and in §5.2.5 transitive clauses are discussed.

5.2.1 Grammatical relations

In describing the core of the verbal clause in Gayo, a distinction is made between 'direct arguments' and 'oblique arguments' (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:30). Arguments are NPs or PPs that are subcategorised for by the verbal predicate of a clause. Direct arguments are expressed as NPs. In §5.2.1.1 the various syntactic functions of direct arguments are described. Oblique arguments are expressed as PPs, and are headed by the dative preposition *kin*, or less frequently by the local preposition *ku* 'to' (§11.1.4). Oblique arguments are distinguished from adjuncts by the fact that arguments are subcategorised by

² *konyèl*: Kind of bark used as an ingredient in betel.

the verb. Predicates can take a single oblique argument along with one or two direct arguments. Oblique arguments are described in §5.2.1.2.

5.2.1.1 Direct arguments

Verbal clauses in Gayo can contain one, two, or three direct arguments (with the exception of ambient clauses (§5.2.3), which contain no arguments). One of the direct arguments in a verbal clause functions as the grammatical subject (Kroeger 1993; Manning 1996) (with the exception of phrasal-verb constructions (§5.2.4.2) and ambient clauses). The canonical position of the subject NP is following its predicate. Transitive clauses contain at least two direct arguments: a subject, and a non-subject that binds to the predicate to form a complex VP. Non-subjects are expressed as NPs, typically pronominal clitics. Previous studies of Gayo (e.g. Soravia 1984; Baihaqi 1977; Syamsuddin 1979) use the term 'subject' in a somewhat ambiguous fashion, sometimes referring to the actor and at other times the more agentive argument. Subject properties in Gayo are 'split' between the syntactic subject and the more agentive argument in a clause, as has been demonstrated for a number of other western Austronesian languages (e.g. Schachter 1976; Kroeger 1993; Manning 1996). In this grammar the term 'subject' is used to refer to the grammatical subject.

In describing the syntax of clauses that specify two participant events, there is a need to refer to the 'semantic macrorole' of a given NP argument (Foley & Van Valin 1984; Van Valin 1993; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:30). In this description the labels 'actor' and 'undergoer' are employed when referring to the macrorole of participants in two or three participant events, regardless of the syntactic transitivity status of the clause, and regardless of the status of an argument as a subject or a non-subject. Two-participant events can be expressed as transitive, semitransitive (i.e. with oblique arguments), and intransitive clauses, i.e. semantic macroroles can refer to direct and oblique arguments, and incorporated nouns. The macroroles are semantically defined, and are not linked by default to the subject or non-subject status of a given argument. Certain semantic-syntactic tests that are used to identify subjects cross-linguistically, such as controller of equi and antecedent of reflexive, are sensitive to the NP bearing the role of actor, which may or may not be a subject. The various functions of direct arguments are discussed in the following sections.

5.2.1.1.1 Split-subject properties in Gayo

Previous studies of Gayo identify a subject NP as an obligatory element of the verbal clause. Soravia (1984:71) defines the subject in Gayo in syntactic terms, as the argument external to the VP. Keenan (1976) defines the notion of 'subject' cross-linguistically as a single relation characterised as the obligatory NP element of the clause, autonomous to the VP, topical, the argument most accessible to relativisation, and the NP that normally expresses the agent of an action. However, the more grammatical criteria for subject-hood such as autonomy from the VP on the one hand, and more semantic criteria such as antecedent of reflexive on the other hand, do not always coincide with a single NP in the Gayo clause. Rather, subject-properties are 'split' between the grammatical subject and the argument bearing the role of actor (Schachter 1976; Kroeger 1993).

The subject in Gayo fulfils the purely grammatical criteria of subject outlined by Keenan (1976), i.e. it is autonomous to the VP and is accessible to relativisation. Other tests for

subject that typically identify the more agentive argument in the clause, such as the antecedent of reflexive, controller of equi, and the ellipsed addressee of an imperative, do not correlate with the NP that functions as the subject. Furthermore, in clausal complements of predicates of pretence (§15.2.1.2.2) and manipulative predicates (§15.2.2.4), whether or not the coreferential argument in the complement clause is a subject is irrelevant. Rather, these tests identify an actor NP, which may or may not be a subject.

There are a number of ways in which the Gayo subject differs significantly from traditional notions of subject. Like the Philippine languages, the voice system of Gayo is neutral in orientation as opposed to the actor-oriented system of nominative/accusative languages and the patient-oriented system of ergative/absolutive languages. There is no marked or non-canonical 'passive', 'antipassive', or analogous operation in Gayo. In undergoer-oriented clauses, the non-subject is expressed as an argument within the VP. From a discourse perspective, the undergoer-as-subject clause is textually more frequent than the actor-as-subject construction. Actor-oriented constructions are largely intransitive, or in the case of transitive constructions, occur only in non-basic constructions, i.e. fronted subjects or in clause-combining operations such as relativisation or control.

Another way in which the Gayo subject does not fulfil Keenan's (1976) criteria for subjecthood is that it is not obligatory to all clause types. The Gayo subject NP does not feature in a number of clause types. Ambient clauses, phrasal-verb constructions, and certain transitive constructions with oblique undergoers do not contain subjects. The obligatoriness of subjects in English means that in ambient clauses (§5.2.3), i.e. clauses with predicating 'weather verbs', a 'dummy subject' fulfils this role, e.g. *It is raining*. However, in Gayo there is also no 'dummy subject' in ambient clauses, e.g. *Uren* '(It is) raining'. Kroeger (1993:52) argues that the absence of a 'dummy subject' in ambient clauses in Tagalog is a widespread fact about language, and as such this phenomenon does not constitute an argument against the establishment of the subject relation.

There is also another frequently occurring clause type that does not contain a subject NP: phrasal-verb constructions (§5.2.4.2) which denote psychological or emotional states. In such clauses the argument denoting the stimulus is expressed as a PP, and the experiencer argument is expressed as a complex NP headed by a noun referring to a body part followed by a modifying possessive phrase. The argument is VP-internal and it cannot be fronted or relativised upon. This is demonstrated in examples (5-17a and b):

- (5-17) a. *Galak atè=ngku kin wè.*
 happy liver=1.POSS DAT 3
 'I like him/her.'
- b. **Atè=ngku galak kin wè.*
 liver=1.POSS happy DAT 3
 ('I like him/her.')

The argument bearing the role of stimulus cannot be considered a grammatical subject as it cannot be expressed as a bare NP, only as an oblique argument. Furthermore, these arguments are not an obligatory element of the clause. Phrasal-verb constructions often contain no stimulus argument.³

³ In contrast, Kroeger (1993:52) demonstrates that in Tagalog a definite stimulus NP functions as a nominative argument, and therefore may be considered a subject.

Finally, certain undergoer-oriented (i.e. transitive) verbs can function as predicates with an undergoer argument expressed as a PP. As such, the clause does not contain a subject argument. Consider example (5-18), which contains an undergoer expressed within a locative PP:

- (5-18) *Èngon=ko ku kampung Rėje Cik Serule so.*
 (UO-)look=2.N.SUBJ to village king TITLE Serule yon
 'Look at the village of King Cik Serule over there.' (SLG:141)

The preceding facts demonstrate that subjects are not obligatory to all clause types in Gayo. The peculiar features of the subject in other western Austronesian languages have led linguists to employ a variety of alternative labels for this relation. The terms 'topic' and 'focus' prevalent in Philippine studies were originally employed to highlight the difference between the Philippine voice system and those of the more familiar European languages. As 'topic' is used in this grammar in its more general pragmatic sense, i.e. distinguishing old and new information, this terminology is avoided here. Issues of topic and focus are tied to word order and intonation in Gayo. Foley (1998) employs the term 'pivot' to describe the nominative 'topic' NP in Tagalog. The notion of 'pivot' was first introduced by Heath (1975) and was considerably expanded by Dixon (1979), to refer to a shared argument in clause combining. Van Valin (1993:56–57) extended the use of this term to refer to the NP bearing the 'syntactically defined privileged syntagmatic function of a construction', i.e. recognisable in simple as well as complex constructions. This term captures the purely syntactic nature of this relation, avoiding connotations of topicality and agentivity traditionally associated with subjects. The term is, however, generally used to refer to a shared argument in clause-combining. The term 'trigger' has also been used to refer to the subject NP in western Austronesian languages. This term was introduced by Fox (1982), cited in Cumming (1991), to replace the problematic 'topic' in Philippine studies. 'Trigger' has also been used by Schachter (1984) and Wouk (1984) for Toba Batak and by Cumming (1991) for Malay, with the rationale that the NP external to the predicate is the argument whose semantic role 'triggers' the choice of morphology on the verb (Cumming 1991:32). The term has not, however, been generally adopted in Austronesian studies. Accordingly, the term 'subject' is employed in this grammar to refer to the NP that functions as the grammatical subject in a clause.

The term 'subject' is used in this grammar to refer to the NP external to the VP. It is defined in this grammar as an NP upon which most of the morphosyntactic 'subject properties' identified by Keenan (1976) converge in a single relation, i.e. it is the argument which is obligatory to most clause types, external to the VP, and is the target of relativisation. Kroeger (1993) argues for such a use of the term 'subject' in this way as it is primarily a syntactic notion, and as such it should be identifiable on the basis of purely morphosyntactic properties, rather than by processes that are sensitive to arguments with the role of actor. Accordingly, I refer to two distinct sets of relations in Gayo: subject/non-subject and actor/undergoer. The terms actor and undergoer are also used to describe non-arguments in two-participant events, i.e. incorporated nouns.

5.2.1.1.2 *Subject and non-subject*

Transitive clauses are those which contain at least two syntactic arguments, with one argument functioning as a grammatical subject and the other as a VP-internal non-subject argument. As in other western Austronesian languages, the subject function can be reliably identified in Gayo; however, identifying an object function is problematic. Non-subjects

typically bear the role of actor, and as such often feature those subject properties associated with the more agentive argument in a clause such as antecedent of reflexive and controller of equi, i.e. Manning's (1996) 'a-subject'. Furthermore, undergoers are not consistently associated with an argument function; in actor-oriented clauses they are often expressed as incorporated nouns. Thus, the notion of object is problematic in a number of ways with regard to Gayo, and so the term is avoided in this grammar. The macrorole status of the subject in a transitive clause is signalled by voice prefix on the verb. Voice is described in detail in Chapter 8.

Subjects are formally expressed as NPs and are characterised by their syntactic independence from the predicate. Their canonical position is following their predicate, but they can be fronted for discourse emphasis, an operation that is more common with intransitive predicates than with transitive predicates. The free ordering of the subject in relation to its predicate is demonstrated in (5-19) and (5-20), where the predicate is represented by the intransitive verb *beluh* 'go':

- (5-19) *Nge beluh wè.*
 already go 3
 PREDICATE SUBJECT
 'S/he has gone.'

- (5-20) *Wè nge beluh.*
3 already go
 SUBJECT PREDICATE
 'S/he has gone.'

Transitive clauses contain a subject as well as a non-subject argument. The semantic macrorole of the subject argument is signalled by a voice prefix that is attached to the predicate. Non-subjects are expressed as NPs, typically pronominal clitics, that bind to the position immediately following the predicate (with the exception of the first person pronominal actor-prefixes). Non-subjects typically refer to highly topical participants. Examples (5-21) and (5-22) contain clauses with canonical word order, i.e. predicate-subject. In example (5-21) the predicate marked by the undergoer prefix *i-*, and in (5-22) the predicate is marked by the decontrol undergoer prefix *ter-*:

- (5-21) *I-tos =è umah.*
UO-make =3.N.SUBJ house
PREDICATE NON.SUBJECT SUBJECT
 VP NP
 'He made a house.'

- (5-22) *Ter-inget =aku Kil Pudah=ne.*
DC.UO-remember =1.N.SUBJ Kil long.ago=earlier
PREDICATE NON.SUBJECT SUBJECT
 VP NP
 'I (just) remembered Kil (from) long ago.'

Actor-oriented predicates can be syntactically transitive (i.e. can take two direct arguments) only when their subject is fronted or is deleted for clause-combining or discourse purposes. For example, in (5-23) *mun-* signals that the subject is an actor:

- (5-23) *Ama munos =è*
father AO:make =3.N.SUBJ
SUBJECT PREDICATE NON.SUBJECT
 VP NP
 'Father made it.'

The subject is distinguished from the non-subject by the fact that the subject can be separated from the verb by another constituent, such as an adjunct or a particle, while the non-subject is syntactically bound to the predicate, forming a VP. Example (5-24) demonstrates that another constituent, the temporal adverb *sine* 'earlier', can be placed between the VP and the subject. Example (5-25) demonstrates that other constituents cannot be placed between the VP and the subject. In these examples the subjects are undergoers:

- (5-24) *I-jerang ine sine kerô=ni.*
UO-cook mother earlier cooked.rice=this
PREDICATE NON-SUBJECT SUBJECT
 VP NP
 'Mother cooked this rice earlier.'
- (5-25) **I-jerang sine ine kerô=ni.*
 UO-cook earlier mother cooked.rice=this
 ('Mother cooked rice earlier.')

In example (5-26) the subject is an actor. In transitive actor-oriented clauses, the subject precedes its predicate:

- (5-26) *Ine pora mi mu-jerang gulé=ni*
mother a.little more AO-cook edible.fish=this
SUBJECT PREDICATE NON-SUBJECT
 NP VP
 'In a little while mother will cook this fish.'
- (5-27) **Ine mu-jerang pora mi gulé=ni.*
 mother AO-cook a.little more edible.fish=this
 ('Mother will cook this fish in a little while.')

5.2.1.1.3 Actor and undergoer

Subjects in Gayo are not aligned by default with a particular semantic macrorole. It is therefore necessary to refer to the two participants in a transitive clause by their macrorole independently of their syntactic (subject or non-subject) status. Also, two- and three-participant events are often coded as syntactically intransitive clauses, i.e. with a participant expressed as an incorporated noun. For these reasons I refer to participants in two-participant events, be they syntactically transitive or intransitive, by the roles of 'actor' and 'undergoer'. The notion of 'semantic macroroles' was developed by Foley and Van Valin (1984) and Van Valin (1993), and has been used widely in descriptions of Austronesian languages (Durie 1985, 1987; Clynes 1995). The notions of actor and undergoer are semantic notions that subsume a number of specific thematic relations. Foley and Van Valin (1984:31) characterise the semantic macroroles in the following terms:

Provisionally we may characterise the actor as the argument of a predicate which expresses the participant which performs, effects, instigates, or controls the situation denoted by the predicate, and the undergoer as the argument which expresses the participant which does not perform, initiate, or control any situation but rather is affected by it in some way.

The semantic macroroles 'actor' and 'undergoer' are used in this grammar to describe the semantic status of arguments in two participant events. For example, in (5-28) the undergoer is a subject, and in (5-29) the undergoer is a non-subject. In these examples, the undergoers are in **bold**:

- (5-28) *I-tipak=è* *aku.*

UO-kick=3.N.SUBJ 1

'S/he kicked me.'

- (5-29) *Anan=é* *munipak=è*

grandmother=3.POSS AO:kick=3.N.SUBJ

'Her grandmother kicked her.'

In addition to Foley and Van Valin's usage, the term is also used here when referring to incorporated nouns, which do not have argument status. In (5-30), the undergoer is an incorporated noun that follows an intransitive verb, and does not have argument status. The verb *m-inum* 'drink' cannot take an individuated undergoer, as demonstrated in example (5-31). Incorporation is discussed in detail in §6.1.

- (5-30) *Kami m-inum kupi.*

we.EXCL INTR-drink coffee

'We are drinking coffee.'

- (5-31) **Kami m-inum=è.*

we.EXCL INTR-drink=3.N.SUBJ

('We are drinking it.')

Actor and undergoer include, but are more general than, the case roles of 'agent' and 'patient'. For example, although an undergoer in a transitive clause is prototypically a patient (Andrews 1985), as in (5-28) above, if the verb bears a valence-increasing affix, the undergoer subject may bear less prototypical roles such as location or stimulus. Consider example (5-32), which contains an undergoer that is a location:

- (5-32) *I-dekat-i=é* *keben.*

UO-near-LOC=3.N.SUBJ rice.barn

'He approached the rice barn.'

In some cases undergoers can be expressed as PPs, in which case they are interchangeable with direct NP arguments. For example, in (5-33a) the undergoer is represented by a direct argument, and in (5-33b) by a PP:

- (5-33) a. *I-èntong=è* *umah n=ama.*

UO-visit=3.N.SUBJ house POSS=father

'She visited father's house.'

- b. *I-èntong=è* *k=umah n=ama.*

UO-visit=3.N.SUBJ to=house POSS=father

'She visited father's house.'

The notion of actor is also important when describing certain syntactic operations that are sensitive to the NP bearing the role of actor, i.e. the 'deep subject' or 'underlying subject', identified by Dixon (1979, 1994), in contrast with the purely syntactically defined subject relation. Actors are sensitive to a number of more semantically-defined morphosyntactic processes. The notion of actor is employed when referring to the antecedent of reflexives, the addressee of an imperative clause, and the controller of equi. For example, the antecedent of a reflexive construction can be an actor subject, as in (5-34), or an actor non-subject, as in (5-35):

- (5-34) *Udin si munyelét-i diri=é.*
 Udin REL AO:razor-LOC self=3.POSS
 'It was Udin who cut himself with a razor.'

- (5-35) *I-selét Udin diri=é.*
 UO-razor Udin self=3.POSS
 'Udin cut himself with a razor.'

The actor can also be an experiencer argument in a phrasal-verb construction (§5.2.4.2). For example, in (5-36) the antecedent is the argument of a syntactically intransitive verb, but is not a subject:

- (5-36) *Nge bengis até=wé kin diri=é.*
 already angry liver=3.POSS DAT self=3.POSS
 'He was angry at himself.'

Other construction types that are sensitive to the actor rather than the subject include the addressee of an imperative (§13.1), and the controller of equi (§15.2.1.2).

5.2.1.2 Oblique arguments

As we have seen, direct arguments in Gayo are expressed as NPs. The other type of argument is the oblique argument. These are PPs that are selected by the verb as complements, and are headed by the dative preposition *kin*, local preposition *ku* 'to' (§11.1.4), and with certain verbs, *urum* 'with' (§11.2.1). Oblique arguments code three types of participants: goal, location, and stimulus. These are outlined in the following.

The first type of semantic role coded by an oblique argument is a goal. The obligatory goal participant of verbs of 'putting' are coded by an oblique argument complement headed by local preposition *ku* 'to'. All of these verbs are derived by means of the causative suffix *-(n)en*. Examples include *i-bobon* 'put', *i-ayo-nen* 'put (s.t.) into (s.t.)', and *i-tik-en* 'put, raise (s.t.) onto (s.t.)':

- (5-37) *Nge ku-bobon lelayang=ne ku rering.*
 already I.UO-put:CAUS1 kite=earlier to wall
 'I have put the kite on the wall.'

- (5-38) *I-ayo-n=è kôrô=é ku wan uer.*
 UO-enter-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ buffalo=3.POSS to inside:POSS stable
 'He put his buffaloes into the stable.'

Goal complements of the ditransitive verbs *i-osah* 'give' and *i-jurah-an* 'give, pass' (§5.2.5) are coded by PPs headed by *ku* 'to' or the dative preposition *kin*. Consider examples (5-39) and (5-40):

(5-39) *Jurah-an ku aku=ni uéh=a!*
 (UO-)pass-CAUS1 to 1=this water=that
 'Give me (some of) that water!'

(5-40) *I-osah=è lukup kin aku.*
 UO-give=3.N.SUBJ wild.mango DAT 1
 'He gave a wild mango to me.'

The second type of semantic role coded as an oblique argument is location. A range of intransitive verbs take an optional PP complement specifying a location. Examples include *kunul* 'sit', *beluh* 'go', *gèh* 'come', and *munomé* 'lie down'. The status of goal participants as arguments is evident by the fact that, unlike locative adjuncts (non-arguments), the PP argument can be expressed as direct argument by applying the locative suffix *-i*:

(5-41) a. *Kunul wè i atan kersi=a.*
 sit 3 LOC top:POSS chair=that
 'He sat on the chair.'

b. *I-kunul-i=é kersi=a.*
 UO-sit-LOC=3.N.SUBJ chair=that
 'He sat on the chair.'

Some verbs can take optional oblique complement PPs headed by *urum* 'with'. Examples include *dekat* 'near', and *rap* 'near (to)':

(5-42) *Nge rap oya urum pintu.*
 already near that with door.
 'It's close to the door.'

Included in this pattern are some intransitive verbs which denote acts that inherently involve more than one participant, e.g. *be-cerak* 'talk (with)' and *kerje* 'marry (with)':

(5-43) *Wè gère be-cerak urum aku.*
 3 not MID-talk with 1
 'She didn't talk with me.'

The third type of semantic role coded as an oblique PP is the optional stimulus complement of an intransitive predicate of emotion or cognition. These are complements of verbs of emotion or cognition, and are coded as PPs headed by the dative preposition *kin*, or less frequently as the local preposition *ku* 'to'. This is demonstrated in (5-44), with the oblique argument-taking stative verb *teréh* 'afraid' (§4.3.1), and in (5-45) with the phrasal verb *galakaté* 'happy, like':

(5-44) *Kekanak i kampung teréh kin aku.*
 child LOC village afraid DAT 1
 'The children in the village were afraid of me.'

(5-45) *Galak até=wé kin ko.*
 happy liver=3.POSS DAT 2
 'They like you.'

Oblique stimulus PPs are less frequently headed by *ku* 'to':

- (5-46) *Kite percaya ku Tuhan.*
 we.INCL believe to God
 'We believe in God.'

As with the oblique goal complements, the argument status of stimulus PPs is evident by the fact that they can be paraphrased as direct NP arguments by applicativisation:

- (5-47) a. *Sayang até=wé kin anak=é.*
 feel.compassion liver=3.POSS DAT offspring=3.POSS
 'She loves her children.'
- b. *Anak beru urum anak bujang olok i-sayang-i.*
 offspring girl and offspring boy extreme UO-feel.compassion-LOC
 'Male and female children are loved very much.' (IK:203)

Another way that the core status of a stimulus PP is revealed is within relative clauses and cleft constructions. The argument that specifies the stimulus in a phrasal-verb construction (§5.2.4.2) can be expressed as a relativised NP, as in example (5-48); or clefted, as in example (5-49), without any further morphological marking on the verb:

- (5-48) *Oya le jema [si galak dih atè=ngku].*
 that FOC person REL happy very liver=1.POSS
 'She is the one I really like.'
- (5-49) *Wè le [si galak dih atè=ngku].*
 3 FOC REL happy very liver=1.POSS
 'She is the one I really like.'

With non-phrasal emotion-denoting predicates, e.g. *teréh* 'afraid' and *bengis* 'angry', the PP cannot be relativised or clefted:

- (5-50) **Oya [si teréh aku].*
 that REL afraid 1
 ('That's what I was afraid of.')

However, when the verb is nominalised and its experiencer argument is expressed as an modifying possessive phrase (§4.3.3), the stimulus argument can be expressed as a relativised or clefted NP, revealing its argument status. Consider the cleft construction in (5-51):

- (5-51) *Oya [si teréh ni Dedébar].*
 that REL afraid POSS Dedébar
 'That's what Dedébar was afraid of.' (lit. 'That was Dedébar's fear.') (IK:99)

This is also possible with phrasal verbs of emotion:

- (5-52) *Oya le [si galak n=atè=ngku].*
 that FOC REL happy POSS=liver=1.POSS
 'That is what I liked.' (lit. 'That is the happiness of my liver.')

Finally, a transitive (voice-marked) verb of cognition or perception can take a stimulus PP complement, as demonstrated in example (5-53):

- (5-53) *I-èngon=è kin pelangkahan.*
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ DAT plan
 'He looked at the plan.' (Depik)

In conclusion, an oblique argument is a PP complement of a verb, and specifies the roles goal, location, or stimulus. The core status of these PPs is reflected in the fact that they are either obligatorily selected by the verb, or, in the case of optional PP complements, can be paraphrased as NPs in an applicative construction. Stimulus PPs can be paraphrased as relativised or clefted bare NPs without applicativisation.

5.2.2 Transitivity in Gayo

A distinction has been made in the literature between transitivity as a syntactic notion and transitivity as a semantic notion (e.g. Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givon 1990). In Gayo, syntactic transitivity, i.e. the number of direct arguments in a clause, often does not coincide with transitivity in the semantic sense, i.e. the number of semantic participants in the state of affairs described by the verb. Gayo tends to code a greater number of participants, i.e. semantic roles selected by the verb, than are realised as syntactic arguments. Two-participant events are often expressed as intransitive clauses, and three-participant events are often expressed as monotransitive clauses, in some cases with two participants being coded within a single complex NP. There are two ways in which a participant without direct argument status can be realised in the Gayo clause: as an incorporated noun; and, in ditransitive clauses, as a possessive phrase that specifies a benefactive participant within a complex NP. Finally, although they do not strictly contain two participants, many affixed intransitive verbs with nominal bases are often rendered in English by a transitive clause. These strategies are outlined in the following.

Firstly, participants can be expressed as non-arguments by means of noun incorporation (§6.1). While arguments often, but not always, refer to individuated entities, incorporated nouns are either non-referential or refer to non-individuated entities. This is demonstrated in (5-54), where the noun *kupi* 'coffee' is incorporated into the predicate. The verb in such constructions cannot take an individuated undergoer. Incorporation is described in detail in §6.1.

- (5-54) *Kami m-inum kupi.*
 we.EXCL INTR-drink coffee
 'We are drinking coffee/*the coffee.'

As with certain verbal derivations containing nominal bases, in some cases an incorporated noun can be modified. For example, in (5-55) the incorporated noun is followed by a modifying noun (e.g. the compound *kupi Gayo* 'Gayo coffee'). Incorporated nouns never refer to an individuated entity:

- (5-55) *Mera ke ko m-inum kupi Gayô?*
 want INT 2 INTR-drink coffee Gayo
 'Would you like to drink some Gayo coffee?'

Secondly, clauses with ditransitive predicates can code three participants as two (syntactic) arguments. For example, the ditransitive verb *i-osah* 'give' can take two arguments. The theme is expressed as the head of a complex NP, and the benefactor is expressed as a modifying possessive phrase within the NP. Consider example (5-56):

- (5-56) *Nge ku-osah sèn=mu.*
 already UO.1-give money=2.POSS
 'I gave you money.' (lit. 'I gave your money.')

Finally, affixed intransitive verbs with nominal bases are often rendered in English by a transitive clause. For example, the actor prefix *mun-* can be attached to many nouns to derive intransitive verbs. The derived verb refers to the action typically associated with what is specified by the nominal base, e.g. *munğeber* ‘tell news’ (*kēber* ‘news’), *mune-sop* ‘make soup’ (*sop* ‘soup’), and *munyupu* ‘make a roof’ (*supu* ‘roof’). Consider examples (5-57) and (5-58), which contain affixed nominal bases bearing the verbal affixes *mun-* (§7.1) and *ber-* (§7.2) respectively:

- (5-57) *Ine tengah munyecah.*
 mother CONT AO:spiced.vegetables
 ‘Mother is making spiced vegetables.’ (*cecah* ‘spiced vegetables’ (N))

- (5-58) *Kite=ni sè=ni be-ke-kēber-en.*
 we.INCL=this now=this MID-RED-news-IMIT
 ‘We will now tell a folk tale.’ (*kekēberen* ‘folk tale’ (N)) (Ijô)

There are two types of verbal derivations which can contain complex bases: the ‘use’ derivation of the middle prefix *ber-* (§7.2), and the ‘possessive’ derivation of the intransitive prefix *mu-* (§7.4). For example, the intransitive prefix *mu-* productively attaches to nominal bases to derive predicates specifying that the referent of the affixed noun is possessed by the referent of the subject argument. The affixed noun is non-individuated, as in example (5-59):

- (5-59) *Benatang pè gēre mu-limet.*
 animal also/even not INTR-habitat
 ‘The animals didn’t have a habitat.’

The prefix can also attach to complex NPs, e.g. NPs that contain a descriptive phrase. As such, the affixed base behaves more like an argument than the base of a verbal derivation. This is demonstrated in (5-60) and (5-61), where the affixed nouns are modified by descriptive phrases (both in **bold**):

- (5-60) *Ko **mu-ama** le **jero**h.*
 2 INTR-father FOC good
 ‘You have a good father.’ (SLG:237)

- (5-61) *Masing-masing **rēje** ara **mu-peraturen** si **nge** **biasa***
 each king EXIST INTR-regulation REL already usually
turun-t[em]urun.
 descend-[INTR-descend]
 ‘Each king has regulations which are usually handed down (i.e. descend from earlier generations).’ (IK:100)

In English, the syntactic valence of a predicate typically correlates with the number of overt participants in the event specified by the predicate. However, in Gayo, as in many other languages, there is a tendency for the clause to involve a greater number of event participants than are expressed as syntactic arguments (Nichols 1982, 1984; Margetts 1999). Predicates denoting events with two participants are only syntactically transitive when they involve an individuated undergoer.

5.2.3 Ambient clauses

Ambient clauses are typically represented by a weather verb, which specifies information about meteorological or environmental settings. What is predicated in ambient clauses is understood to be the case at the present time or place. Clauses containing ambient predicates have a minimal clause structure; they contain only one core constituent, a predicate. Any other constituent in the clause is peripheral. Ambient clauses in Gayo contain no 'dummy subject', unlike their English equivalents. Consider examples (5-62) to (5-66):

- (5-62) *Pungi.*
thunder
'It is thundering.'
- (5-63) *Teku uren.*
just rain
'It just (started) raining.'
- (5-64) *Porak olok ser=lô=ni.*
hot extreme one=day=this
'It's extremely hot today.'
- (5-65) *Nge reduk.*
already overcast
'It's overcast.'
- (5-66) *Gëre temas i sien.*
not pleasant LOC here
'It's not pleasant here.'

In example (5-67), the ambient predicate occurs within a subordinate clause:

- (5-67) *Bier pè uren, abang beluh ku kenduri.*
although also/even rain older.brother go to party
'Although it was raining, older brother went to the party.'

5.2.4 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses consist of a predicate, which is represented by an unaffixed or an affixed intransitive verb, and a subject NP. Unaffixed verbs specify stative and resultative states of affairs, as in examples (5-68) and (5-69) respectively. Unaffixed verbs were described in §4.3.1.

- (5-68) *Nge hək aku.*
already tired 1
'I'm tired.'
- (5-69) *Ama nge sawah.*
father already arrive
'Father has arrived.'

Affixed verbs typically, but not exclusively, denote activities. The meanings conveyed by the individual intransitive affixes are described in detail in Chapter 7. Example (5-67) contains a verbal predicate marked by the intransitive infix *-em-*:

- (5-70) *R[em]alan wè i wan uten.*
 INTR-walk 3 LOC inside:POSS forest
 'He is walking in the forest.'

Affixed verbs can also denote stative meanings, as in example (5-71), which contains the adversative circumfix *ke-...-(n)en*:

- (5-71) *Aku ke-hek-en.*
 1 ADVERS-tired
 'I am very tired.'

Intransitive affixes are described individually in detail in Chapter 7.

5.2.4.1 Existential clauses

In this section I describe two types of existential clauses: stative existential clauses (5.2.4.1.1), and inceptive existential clauses (§5.2.4.1.2).

5.2.4.1.1 Stative existential clauses

Stative existential predicates assert the existence or non-existence of an entity. The clause in which they occur typically consists of the existential verb *ara*, followed by a subject NP, and then a locative adjunct. Consider examples (5-72) and (5-73):

- (5-72) *Ara sara jema behu ari Kètól.*
 EXIST one person strong from Kètól
 'There once was a strong man from Kètól.' (SLG:109)
- (5-73) *Ara mancang i onè sine.*
 EXIST k.o.mango LOC there earlier
 'There were mangoes there.' (Depik)

The locative adjunct can intrude between the predicate and the subject NP, as in (5-74):

- (5-74) *Ara i onè gue.*
 EXIST LOC there cave.
 'There is a cave there.' (Pukes)

The subject of a stative existential predicate typically follows the verb, but it can be fronted, as in (5-75):

- (5-75) *Pe-niré-n n=jema rawan pè gère ara.*
 NOM-bathe POSS=person man also/even not EXIST
 'There wasn't even a men's bathing place (there).' (Ijô)

The subject of the existential verb can be relativised, as in (5-76):

- (5-76) *serdadu ni Belene si ara i kute Takèngen.*
 soldier POSS Dutch REL EXIST LOC village Takengon
 'the Dutch soldiers who are in Takengon.' (IK:100)

Apart from physical location, the PP adjunct of an existential clause can also denote temporal location:

- (5-77) *Pelisi ara urang Gayô=ni te=masa Belene.*
 police EXIST person Gayo=this PROX=era Dutch
 'As for police, there were some Gayo (who were police) in the Dutch period.'

5.2.4.1.1.1 With subjects denoting temporal or spatial extent

The existential verb *ara* can take a subject NP that specifies an elapsed length of time, with the construction functioning as a temporal adjunct:

- (5-78) *Ara tulu lô mi i-tos=è suret.*
 EXIST three day more UO-make=3.N.SUBJ letter
 'After three days he made (i.e. wrote) a letter.' (lit. 'Three days more existed (and) he made a letter.')

The verb may also take an NP subject that denotes a distance that has been covered:

- (5-79) *Beluh mien nge ara kire-kire sepuluh depa.*
 go again already EXIST approximately ten fathom
 '(He) went again about ten fathoms.' (lit. 'He went again (and) there were approximately ten fathoms.') (Pelanuk)

5.2.4.1.1.2 Existential predicates specifying ownership

Existential clauses that contain subject NPs modified by a possessive NP are used to assert the possessive relationship between the referent of that phrase and the head noun. Such clauses have the following structure:

ara [N POSS]_{NP} 'Possessor has an NP.'

Examples of such constructions are given in (5-77) to (5-79):

- (5-80) *Ngi, ara jamu=mu!*
 younger.sibling EXIST visitor=2.POSS
 'Sister, you have a visitor!'
- (5-81) *Ike ara iken=mu, kirém-en ku kite=ni.*
 if EXIST fish=2.POSS (UO-)send to we.INCL=this
 'If you have any fish, send (it) to us.'
- (5-82) *Bur Kelietni, sebenar=é,⁴ ara kaitan=é*
 mountain Kelieten:this in.fact=3.POSS EXIST connection=3.POSS
ku da'èrah Isak.
 to region Isak
 'As for this Mount Kelieten, in fact, it has a connection
 (i.e. a connecting road) to the Isak region.' (Depik)

Existential clauses of this pattern are negated by *gëre* 'not' (§13.4.1):

⁴ Malay/Bahasa Indonesia: *sebenarnya* 'in fact'.

- (5-83) *Gëre nè ara ama=mu.*
 not anymore EXIST father=2.POSS
 'You don't have a father any more.' (SLG:43)

5.2.4.1.1.3 *ara* with clausal complements

The existential verb *ara* takes clausal complements to convey a meaning of 'indeed' or 'it is the case that ...'. This is demonstrated in examples (5-84) to (5-88):

- (5-84) *Ara jema gèh oya=ne.*
 EXIST person come that=earlier
 'Someone came earlier.'
- (5-85) *Ara taring-n ine=é sensém roa.*
 EXIST (UO-)leave-CAUS1 mother=3.POSS ring two
 'Their mother did leave two rings.' (Ijô)
- (5-86) *Gëre ara ulak Merah Mëge.*
 not EXIST return Merah Mëge
 'Merah Mëge didn't return.' (SLG:60)

This meaning can also be conveyed when the subject of the complement clause precedes *ara*:

- (5-87) *Wè ara mu-demu urum Ibrahim.*
 3 EXIST AO-meet with Ibrahim
 'He did meet with Ibrahim.'
- (5-88) *Aku nge ara mu-baju.*
 1 already EXIST INTR-shirt
 'I do have a shirt.'

Ara is often the questioned element in a transitive interrogative clause (§13.2):

- (5-89) *Ara ke i-èrah abang pè abang Uyem Gading?*
 EXIST INT UO-see older.brother also/even older.brother Uyem Gading
 'Have you (brother) seen Abang Uyem Gading?' (SLG:168)

5.2.4.1.2 *Inceptive existential clauses*

Inceptive existential clauses describe the coming about of an entity or state of affairs. Predicates in inceptive existential clauses are represented by the existential verb *jadi* 'occur, come about', or *terjadi* 'occur, come about'.⁵ The use of these two verbs differs in that *jadi* tends to be used when referring to natural phenomena, while *terjadi* is used otherwise.⁶ Consider examples (5-90) and (5-91):

⁵ Malay/Bahasa Indonesia: *ter-* prefix marking decontrol + *jadi* 'become'. This form is not listed in Hazeu (1907), and as such is perhaps a recent borrowing from Bahasa Indonesia. The prefix *ter-* is formally and semantically distinguished from the Gayo prefix *ter-*. The final *r* of the prefix in this particular word is never dropped in Gayo as it would in a native Gayo word marked by *ter-*. Furthermore, *ter-* in Gayo derives accidental or abilitative meanings, not the inceptive meaning associated with this form.

⁶ Woollams (1996:184) reports that this is the case with inceptive existential verbs *jadi* and *terjadi* in Karo Batak.

- (5-90) *Uah ni rom si m-isi, tengah tungkuk, gëre jadi*
 fruit POSS rice.plant REL INTR-contents CONT bent not occur
nè kin uah semperne.
 anymore as fruit perfect
 'The rice plants which have fruit inside, are bent over, they won't fruit properly anymore.' (IK:190)
- (5-91) *Kejadian si lagu ni ini, delé terjadi i Gayô.*
 incident REL way POSS this many occur LOC Gayo
 'As for incidents like this, many occur in Gayo.' (IK:84)

5.2.4.1.2.1 Inceptive existential clauses specifying ownership

Inceptive existential clauses can specify ownership, parallel with the stative existential clauses outlined in §5.2.4.1.1 above. Consider example (5-92):

- (5-92) *Nge jadi anak=é.*
 already occur child=3.POSS
 'S/he has had a child.' (lit. 'His/her child has come about.')
 (Melalatoa 1982:122)

5.2.4.1.2.2 jadi with clausal complements

Jadi can take clausal complements to emphasise that something did or did not 'indeed' occur or come about. The subject of the complement clause can occur either before the matrix predicate, as in (5-93); or following it, as in (5-94):

- (5-93) *Aku gëre jadi beluh.*
 I not occur go
 'I didn't end up going.'
- (5-94) *Gëre jadi ko beluh ku Isak!*
 not occur 2 go to Isak
 'You didn't end up going to Isak!'

5.2.4.1.2.3 mu-jadi 'become'

Jadi can be marked by the actor prefix *mun-* (§7.1) to form *mu-jadi* 'become' followed by a non-subject undergoer referring to the result of becoming. Consider examples (5-95) to (5-97):

- (5-95) *Nge ke mu-jadi asu ko.*
 already BCKGR AO-become dog 2
 'You've turned into a dog.' (SLG:71)
- (5-96) *Taring sana si mu-jadi reta-milik=é.*
 remain what REL AO-become wealth-possession=3.POSS
 'Whatever were his possessions remained.' (Métun)

- (5-97) *Wè mu-jadi manuk si be-geral si Métun-métun.*
 3 AO-become bird REL MID-name TITLE Métun-métun
 'She turned into a bird which was named Métun-métun.' (IK:14)

These constructions are anomalous, in that they are transitive, but do not have parallel undergoer-oriented equivalents. This is demonstrated in (5-98):

- (5-98) **I-jadi=é asu.*
 UO-become=3.N.SUBJ dog
 ('He turned into a dog.')

Mu-jadi can take a stative verb complement, conveying a meaning of 'become [state]'. In example (5-99), *mu-jadi* is followed by the stative verb *bengis* 'angry':

- (5-99) *I sonè Dedébar mu-jadi bengis.*
 LOC there Dedébar AO-become angry
 'At that place Dedébar became angry.' (IK:98)

5.2.4.2 Phrasal-verb constructions

Phrasal-verb constructions involve a predicating stative verb referring to an emotion. They are described by Klammer (1998:304) for the Austronesian language Kambera as 'a verbal construction in which a verb is accompanied by a body part noun which is obligatorily present and is inalienably possessed by the logical subject of the phrasal verb'. Phrasal-verb constructions in Gayo contain an obligatory experiencer (actor) NP argument, and an optional oblique stimulus argument (undergoer). The experiencer in a phrasal verb construction is expressed as an NP whose head is represented by the noun *até* 'liver (i.e. the seat of thought, emotion, feeling, the 'heart')'. The head of the NP is modified by a possessive phrase referring to the experiencer of the emotion. Consider examples (5-100) and (5-101):

- (5-100) *Bengis até=wé.*
 angry liver=3.POSS
 'He is angry.' (lit. 'His liver is angry.') (Ijô)
- (5-101) *Sayang até n=Jepang kin Kil Lokot=ne.*
 feel.compassion liver POSS=Japanese DAT Kil Lokot=earlier
 'The Japanese felt sorry for Kil Lokot.' (lit. 'The livers of the Japanese felt sorry for Kil Lokot.')

Phrasal-verb constructions feature a number of unusual syntactic properties that distinguish them from other clause types. Unlike other types of intransitive clause, phrasal-verb constructions do not contain a subject argument. A number of facts provide evidence that the experiencer argument does not have subject status. Firstly, it cannot be fronted or relativised. Example (5-102) is ungrammatical, as the argument referring to the experiencer cannot be fronted:

- (5-102) **Até=wé nge bengis.*
 liver=3.POSS already angry
 ('He is angry.')

Secondly, the experiencer argument cannot be separated from its predicate by another phrasal constituent such as an oblique argument or adjunct. Consider examples (5-103a) and (5-103b):

- (5-103) a. *Galak atè=ngku kin wè.*
 happy liver=1.POSS DAT 3
 'I like him/her.'
- b. **Galak kin wè atè=ngku.*
 happy DAT 3 liver=1.POSS
 ('I like him/her.')

The verb and experiencer argument can be separated by a particle, although this occurs rarely in the corpus. In example (5-104), the two elements of the phrasal verb are interrupted by the adverbial particle *pedih* 'very':

- (5-104) *Sana kati kôl pedih atè=mu kin petukel?*
 what so.that big very liver=2.POSS DAT pumpkin
 'Why are you so fond of pumpkin?' (SLG:93)

The verb and experiencer argument can also be interrupted by a vocative element:

- (5-105) *Galak, engé=ngku, até ni kami kin ningko.*
 happy younger.sibling=1.POSS liver POSS we.EXCL DAT 2.POSS
 'We, O my sister, like you (lit. yours(self)).' (SLG:216)

The stimulus argument is expressed as a dative PP, and its canonical position is following its predicate. The stimulus PP argument is unusual in that, like subjects, it is independent from the VP, it can be fronted, and it can function as the gap in a relative clause, in which case the relativised argument is expressed as a bare NP. Consider example (5-106):

- (5-106) *jema si galak atè=ngku*
 person REL happy liver=1.POSS
 'the person I like'

However, unlike subjects, the stimulus is not an obligatory element of the clause, and in its canonical position, i.e. after the predicate, it is expressed as a PP rather than a bare NP.

5.2.4.2.1 Verbs in phrasal-verb constructions

A small number of verb roots are used only in phrasal-verb constructions. The verb roots *galak* 'happy', *ues* 'sad', *geli* 'hateful' and *sok* 'uncertain' never function as predicates in non-phrasal intransitive clauses. In contrast, there are a large number of regular verbs that can occur in phrasal-verb constructions, or in simple intransitive clauses, conveying slightly different meanings in each clause type. In phrasal-verb constructions, the verb denotes an emotion. Examples include *sakét* (*até*) 'unhappy, annoyed (with)' (*sakét* 'sick'), *porak* (*até*) 'angry (with)' (*porak* 'hot'), *terang* (*até*) 'certain (about)' (*terang* 'certain'), *kôl* (*até*) 'like, happy (with)' (*kôl* 'big'). Consider examples (5-107a and b):

- (5-107) a. *Sakét aku.*
 sick 1
 'I am sick.'
- b. *Sakét até n=ulama kin nong.*
 sick liver POSS=religious.scholar DAT 1.POSS
 'The religious scholars were annoyed with me.' (lit. 'The livers of the religious scholars were sore towards mine (i.e. my self).')

Examples (5-108a and b) demonstrate the difference in meaning between regular oblique argument-taking predicates and phrasal verbs. In (5-108a), the verb refers to an outwardly visible state, and in (5-108b), to an inner feeling:

- (5-108) a. *Bengis rayat si delé kin Tentum Kapur.*
 angry population REL many DAT Tentum Kapur
 'The people were angry with Tentum Kapur.' (Outward display of anger)
- b. *Bengis atè=ngku kin wè.*
 angry liver=1.POSS DAT 3
 'I am angry with him.' (Feeling of anger)

Phrasal verbs can optionally take an oblique argument, as in (5-107b) and (5-108b) above; two can take only clausal complements: *pis (até)* 'bring oneself to, have the heart to' and *yakin (até)* 'be certain, convinced (about)'. These are exemplified in (5-109) and (5-110):

- (5-109) *Yakin atè=ngku malè i-tipak=è aku.*
 certain liver=1.POSS will UO-kick=3.N.SUBJ 1
 'I was certain that he was going to kick me.'
- (5-110) *Gëre pis até=wé mun-osan dengké si*
 not bring.o.s.to liver=3.POSS AO-give:CAUS1 meat REL
dèpet=è ku jema oya.
 (UO-)find=3.N.SUBJ to person that
 'They couldn't bring themselves to give away the meat that they had got to those people.' (IK:54)

The quotative verb *kenè* 'say' (§15.2.1.4.2) can also occur within a phrasal verb construction when quoting one's thoughts:

- (5-111) *Ken atè=ngku 'soboh aku ku kedé'.*
 say liver=1.POSS morning 1 to market
 'I thought, "Tomorrow I'll go to the market".' (lit. 'My liver thought ...')

Phrasal verbs can also contain an intransitive affixed predicate, e.g. *mu-kalé (até)* 'miss, long for' (*mu-kalé* 'miss, long for'), *mu-relas (até)* 'be heart-broken' (*mu-relas* 'collapse'), *mu-senang (até)* 'grow happier' (*mu-senang* 'grow happier'), *pe-ke-két (até)* 'worry' (*pe-ke-két* 'bite at (something) repeatedly'), *be-gerak (até)* 'be moved (emotionally)' (*be-gerak* 'move'). Consider examples (5-112) and (5-113):

- (5-112) *Èsahdeli, olok dih pe-ke-két até=wé kin*
 Èsahdeli extremely very T.TEXT-RED-bite liver=3.POSS DAT
Uyem Gading=ni.
 Uyem Gading=this
 'Èsahdeli, He was extremely worried about Uyem Gading.'
- (5-113) *Nge mu-senang até ni asu=ne.*
 already INTR-happy liver POSS dog=earlier
 'The dog grew happier.' (SLG:105)

A common strategy for conveying inceptive meanings with emotion-denoting stative verbs is to employ the intransitive verb *sawah* 'arrive' taking a subject represented by an NP headed by a nominalised stative verb. Within the nominalisation, the argument specifying the experiencer is represented by a possessive phrase. These constructions express

perfective meanings, i.e. that the state of affairs 'came about', due to the semantic structure of the resultative verb *sawah*:

- (5-114) *Nge sawah senang n=até=wé.*
 already arrive happy POSS=liver=3.POSS
 'He got happy.' (lit. 'The happiness of his liver arrived.')
- (5-115) *Nge sawah macik ni até=wé kin Jenaka.*
 already arrive worry POSS liver=3.POSS DAT Jenaka
 'He got worried about Jenaka.' (lit. 'The worry of his liver for Jenaka arrived.')

With an emotion-denoting verb that bears a valence-increasing affix, *até* takes on the status of an actor NP, which can function as a subject. For example, in (5-116) *até* is a constituent of a phrasal verb, while in (5-117) it is a subject NP within a transitive construction, having the role of actor:

- (5-116) *Bengis até=ngku kin kekanak=a.*
 angry liver=1.POSS DAT child=that
 'I am angry at that child.'
- (5-117) *Gère sawah até=wé mu-bengis-i si banan.*
 not arrive liver=3.POSS AO-angry-LOC REL woman
 'He didn't get to the point of being angry at the woman.' (IK:184)

5.2.4.2.2 Emotion-denoting predicates where *até* 'liver' is VP-external

In contrast with the examples in the previous section, with certain clauses that denote meanings of emotion, *até* can function as a subject. When the event expressed by the predicate is causative, i.e. when the emotion verb takes one of two valence-increasing affixes *per-* (§9.4) or *-(n)en* (§9.3), *até* can occur as the head of an NP undergoer argument. This is demonstrated in examples (5-118) and (5-119):

- (5-118) *I-pe-me-macik=è até=ngku.*
 UO-CAUS2-RED-worry=3.N.SUBJ liver=3.POSS
 'He made me feel worried.' (lit. 'He made my liver worried.')
- (5-119) *I-ues-n=è até=ngku.*
 UO-sad-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ liver=1.POSS
 'She made me feel sad.' (lit. 'She saddened my liver.')

Até can function as the head of an NP in non-subject function when it is the undergoer of the verb (*mun-*)*emah* 'carry'. The resulting VP functions as the second predicate in a 'simultaneous state of affairs' serial-verb construction (§6.6). In such clauses, an emotion-denoting stative verb occurs within the descriptive slot (§10.4) of the NP headed by *até*:

- (5-120) *Si delé pè ulak mah até senang.*
 REL many also/even return AO:carry liver happy
 'The group returned happily.' (lit. '... carrying happy livers.')

- (5-121) *Wè pè ulak mah até gèrè pùes.*
 3 also/even return AO:carry liver not content
 'He returned unsatisfied.' (lit. 'He returned carrying a discontented liver.')

5.2.5 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses minimally consist of a VP and a subject NP. The VP contains a predicated voice-marked transitive verb, and a non-subject NP, which is typically a pronominal clitic. In undergoer-oriented and decontrol undergoer-oriented clauses the canonical position of the subject is following its predicate, although it can be fronted for discourse emphasis. In (transitive) actor-oriented clauses, the subject can precede, but not follow, its predicate.

- (5-122) *I-tos* *ine* *alas=ne.*
UO:eat mother mat=earlier
PREDICATE NON.SUBJECT SUBJECT
VP NP
‘S/he made the mat.’
- (5-123) *Ama* *munos* *alas=ne.*
Father AO:eat mat=earlier
SUBJECT PREDICATE NON.SUBJECT
NP VP
‘Father made the mat.’
- (5-124) *Te-selét* *ama* *engi.*
DC.UO-razor father younger.sibling
PREDICATE NON.SUBJECT SUBJECT
VP NP
‘Father accidentally cut (lit. razored) younger brother.’

A small number of transitive verbs select three arguments in their semantic structure. The verbs of ‘putting’, i.e. *i-paré-n* ‘put, place’ and *i-bobon* ‘put’, select three arguments, two of which are expressed as direct arguments, with the third argument (i.e. the goal) expressed as a PP:

- (5-125) *I-bobon=è dengké=ne ku wan dapur.*
 UO-put:CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ meat=earlier to inside:POSS kitchen
 'She put the meat in the kitchen.'

Ditransitive verbs are those that select three arguments, all of which can be expressed as direct arguments in a ditransitive clause. Examples of ditransitive verbs are *i-osah* ‘give’, *i-kirém* ‘send’, and *i-èjer* ‘teach’. The goal argument in clauses predicated by these verbs is typically expressed as a PP in a monotransitive clause, as in (5-126):

- (5-126) *I-osah=è* *awal* *kin* *aku.*
 UO-give=3.N.SUBJ banana DAT I
 'He gave a banana to me.'

The goal can also be expressed as a bare undergoer NP preceding the theme in a dative-shift construction. The resulting clause is ditransitive, i.e. it contains three direct arguments:

- (5-127) *I-osah=è aku awal.*
UO-give=3.N.SUBJ 1 banana
'He gave me a banana.'

Voice and various other issues pertaining to transitive clauses are discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

6 *Other aspects of the clause*

This chapter covers aspects of clausal syntax not discussed in Chapter 5. Noun incorporation is described in §6.1. Fronting of constituents to the position before the predicate is described in §6.2. In §6.3, left and right dislocation are discussed. Reflexives are described in §6.4 and comparison in §6.5. In §6.6, verb serialisation is described. Finally, ellipsis is discussed in §6.7. Cleft constructions are non-verbal clauses in which the single argument is represented by a headless relative clause. Clefting is described in §14.7 along with the discussion of relative clauses.

6.1 Incorporation

Incorporation is a productive process that involves the compounding of a verb and a noun to create a new complex verb, which denotes ‘a recognisable, unitary concept, rather than the chance co-occurrence of some action or state and some entity’ (Mithun 1984:849). The incorporated noun is not an argument; it cannot refer to an individuated entity. Rather, the noun serves to refine the meaning of the verb. A verb with an incorporated noun is a single phonological word, with word stress falling on the final syllable of the incorporated noun. This is demonstrated in (6-1), where the two elements of the compound are represented orthographically as separate words (in **bold**). The undergoer participant in this example cannot refer to an individuated entity:

- (6-1) *Nos **totor** **pudah=ne** urang Gayô=ni.*
 AO:make bridge long.ago=earlier person Gayo=this
 ‘We Gayo used to make bridges long ago.’ but *‘We Gayo made
 the bridge long ago.’

Incorporation can occur with unaffixed verbs, but is more common with affixed intransitive verbs (§7), as an incorporated noun typically specifies the undergoer participant in a volitional act. Three kinds of incorporation can be distinguished in Gayo: undergoer incorporation (§6.1.1), actor incorporation (§6.1.2), and external possession (§6.1.3).

6.1.1 Undergoer incorporation

An incorporated noun typically refers to an undergoer participant in the semantic structure of the verb. Actor-oriented predicates typically contain an undergoer expressed as

an incorporated noun. In these clauses the undergoer is non-individuated, and cannot be modified by a determiner. Consider example (6-2):

- (6-2) *Munyuēn kepilē paké=a i uken so.*
 AO:plant sweet.potato 3.PL=that LOC upstream yon
 'They were planting sweet potatoes upstream.' but *'They planted those sweet potatoes upstream.'

Further evidence for the non-argument status of undergoers in many actor-oriented clauses is seen in imperative constructions. Actor-oriented imperatives can only take non-individuated, and never individuated, undergoers. Thus imperative actor-oriented predicates are always intransitive. Consider example (6-3):

- (6-3) *Nyuen kepilē renyel!*
 AO:plant sweet.potato then
 'Plant sweet potatoes (*the sweet potatoes)! ' (i.e. 'Do sweet-potato planting!')

Imperative clauses with individuated undergoers can only be undergoer-oriented:

- (6-4) *Suen kepilē=ne renyel!*
 (UO-)plant sweet.potato=earlier then
 'Plant the sweet potatoes!'

Declarative actor-oriented clauses can be syntactically transitive when the subject is not located in its canonical position, i.e. after its predicate. Transitive actor-oriented predicates are described in detail in §8.3.

Affixed intransitive verbs based on intransitive roots can also take incorporated undergoers. The status of the noun as incorporated is evident by the fact that the noun cannot take an undergoer with definite reference, such as a pronoun. For example, the intransitive verb *m-inum* 'drink', which bears the intransitive prefix *mu-*, can take an incorporated undergoer, as in (6-6) and (6-7):

- (6-5) *Wè tengah m-inum.*
 3 CONT INTR-drink
 'He is having a drink.'
- (6-6) *Wè nge m-inum uak.*
 3 already INTR-drink medicine
 'He drank (i.e. took) some medicine.'
- (6-7) *Wè gati m-inum kupi.*
 3 often INTR-drink coffee
 'He often drinks coffee.'

M-inum 'drink' cannot take an undergoer with individuated reference:

- (6-8) **Aku m-inum=è sine.*
 1 INTR-drink=3.N.SUBJ earlier
 ('I drank it earlier.')

Intransitive verb roots can occur in transitive clauses with a definite undergoer only when they bear a valence-increasing affix, or if the undergoer is expressed as a PP adjunct. For example, the root in *m-inum* 'drink' (i.e. *-inum*) is intransitive, i.e. it cannot be undergoer-oriented. As such, it can take an undergoer with individuated reference only

when it is marked by a valence-increasing affix, such as the causative suffix *-(n)en* (§9.3). Consider example (6-9):

- (6-9) *Inum-n=è* *kupi=mu.*
 UO-drink-CAUS1=3.N. SUBJ coffee=2.POSS
 'He drank your coffee.'

A number of other intransitive verbs can take incorporated nouns. *M-ayo* 'enter' can take an incorporated undergoer that refers to a religion that is converted to, or an educational institution that is attended:

- (6-10) *Wè nge m-ayo Islam.*
 3 already INTR-enter Islam
 'He has embraced Islam.'
- (6-11) *Wè gère m-ayo sekolah.*
 3 not INTR-enter school
 'He didn't enter school.' (i.e. 'He didn't go to school.')

Example (6-11) can refer only to the attendance of school, and not, for example, to the actual entering of the school building. In cases that involve physically entering a place or entity, the destination must be expressed as a PP:

- (6-12) *Ama nge m-ayo ku wan umah.*
 father already INTR-enter to inside:POSS house
 'Father has gone into the house.'

Finally, predicates marked by the temporal extension prefix *per-* (§7.5) can contain an incorporated undergoer when the verbal base is reduplicated. Consider examples (6-13) and (6-14):

- (6-13) *Nge pe-te-tirô uéh Aman Mayak sine.*
 already T.TEXT-RED-request water Aman Mayak earlier
 'Aman Mayak was repeatedly asking for water.' (IK:210)
- (6-14) *Ara si pe-congkèl-congkèl rui ari tapak=é.*
 exist REL T.TEXT-RED-pull.out splinter from sole=3.POSS
 'There were some who were pulling splinters from their soles (of their feet).'
 (IK:52)

6.1.2 Actor incorporation

With a small number of verbs, incorporated nouns can specify actor participants. Clauses containing incorporated actors can be paraphrased as clauses containing an intransitive verb, whose subject carries out an action aimed at a particular entity that is expressed as a locative PP. The verb that is most frequently used in these constructions is *kona*, 'strike, happen, occur'. The subject argument refers to the event that happens or the entity that strikes. This verb can occur in non-incorporated structures in which the thing that is struck is expressed as a PP adjunct of location.¹ These non-incorporating structures are exemplified in (6-15) and (6-16):

¹ In Acehnese the verb *keunöng* functions in a very similar way. See Durie (1985:53–54).

- (6-15) *Kukut ni be-beru kona ku bēden ni be-bujang.*
 nail POSS RED-girl strike to body POSS RED-boy
 'The fingernails of the girl struck the boy's body.' (IK:109)
- (6-16) *Kona nge bekas ni akang ku pem-bau ni asu.*
 strike already track POSS deer to INSTR-smell POSS dog
 'The tracks of the deer caught the noses of the dogs.' (IK:51)

In the paraphrased incorporating construction, the subject argument is incorporated and does not have argument status. Instead, the location of the happening or striking is expressed as a subject NP. The location is understood as being affected by the action. Unlike undergoer-oriented predicates, they cannot take a definite actor, nor can they be marked by the undergoer prefix *i-*. Consider examples (6-17) and (6-18):

- (6-17) *Wè kona ontang.*
 3 strike snare
 'He got ensnared.' (SLG:79)
- (6-18) *Wè nge kona uren.*
 3 already strike rain
 'He got rain on him.'

Kona is also used in compound constructions in which the second element is a verbal complement in its root form. In such cases, *kona* specifies that the action referred to by the second verb has been carried out upon a person or thing. Consider example (6-19):

- (6-19) *Honda=ngku nge [kona ôsôh].*
 motorbike=1.POSS already strike steal
 'My motorbike has been stolen.' (*i-ôsôh* 'steal')

The second verb in these constructions can be affixed, as in (6-20). Only two examples of this occur in the corpus:

- (6-20) *I sonè le baru [kona i-karô].*
 LOC there FOC then strike UO-hunt
 'At that place (he) was hunted down (and caught).' (*i-karô* 'hunt')

The stative verbs *rap* and *dekat*, which both mean 'close to' or 'near', can follow this pattern of incorporation, and are translated into English by the verb 'near'. In (6-21a and b) this is exemplified with *rap*. In (6-21a) the location is definite, and is expressed as a PP adjunct. In (6-21b), the location is indefinite, and is expressed as an incorporated noun.

- (6-21) a. *Gēre ngôk jema rap ku ko.*
 not can person near to 2
 'People can't get close to you.' (IK:236)
- b. *Umah=ku rap mesegit.*
 house=1.POSS near mosque
 'My house is near the mosque.'

A small number of other verbs can occur with this pattern of incorporation. The predicates in examples (6-22) to (6-24) contain predicates with incorporated actors:

- (6-22) *Baju=é mu-lekat rayoh.*
 shirt=3.POSS INTR-sticky blood
 'His shirt was sticky with blood.' (IK:99)
- (6-23) *Time=ni nge engkip uéh.*
 bucket=this already full water
 'This bucket is filled with water.'
- (6-24) *Urang Gayô canu kupi.*
 person Gayo addicted coffee
 'The Gayo people are addicted to coffee.'

6.1.3 External possession

Incorporation can involve predicates whose possessor is expressed as an incorporated body part, and the possessed entity as a subject NP. This phenomenon has been referred to in other languages as 'external possession' (Payne & Barshi 1999). Example (6-25a) contains an intransitive predicate with an incorporated body part. Constructions featuring external possession can be paraphrased as clauses in which the possessor and possessed are expressed as a single subject NP, as in (6-25b):

- (6-25) a. *Aku sakét ulu.*
 1 sick head
 'I have a headache.' (lit. 'I am sore-headed.')
- b. *Sakét ulu=ngku.*
 sick head=1.POSS
 'I have a headache.' (lit. 'My head is sore.')

External possession applies only to inalienably possessed entities, and does not extend to other kinds of possession or broader association (§10.3.2), as demonstrated in example (6-26):

- (6-26) **Aku sakét asu.*
 1 sick dog
 ('I have a sick dog.')

External possession is further demonstrated in examples (6-27) to (6-29):

- (6-27) *Wè sakét tuke.*
 3 sick stomach
 'She has a stomach ache.'
- (6-28) *Jema m-inum kupi kati pesam bēden.*
 person INTR-drink coffee so.that warm body
 'People drink coffee so that they have warm bodies.'
- (6-29) *Jema si kuen-kiri, bèwèn=é be-geli até.*
 person REL right-left all=3.POSS MID-hateful liver
 'The people left and right (i.e. everywhere), they are all nasty.'
 (lit. '... have hateful livers.') (IK:127)

This kind of incorporation can also occur with inanimate possessors:

- (6-30) *Ibarat-n=è m-urip ni Métun-métun ku bunge*
 UO:seem-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ INTR-live POSS Métun-métun to flower
si taring tangké.
 REL remain stem
 'He drew a parallel between the life of Métun-métun and a flower whose stem was missing.'

6.2 Fronting

Fronting is where an argument or an adjunct is accorded some prominence in the clause by being fronted to the position before its predicate. Fronting is distinguished from left dislocation (§6.3.1) by the fact that a left-dislocated NP is clause-external, which is signalled by the fact this it is separated from the clause by a pause. There is no pause between a fronted NP and the VP, as fronted NPs are clause-internal (Foley & Van Valin 1984). Fronting is described in the following sections.

6.2.1 Fronted adjuncts and oblique arguments

Adjuncts that denote time, manner, location, reason, or instrument typically occur last in the clause that they belong to. They can be fronted to signal what they denote is important background information. Consider examples (6-31) to (6-33):

- (6-31) *I Arap ara nyuen kupi?*
 LOC Arabia EXIST AO:plant coffee
 'In Arabia do (they) cultivate coffee?'
 (6-32) *Urum parang ku-tebes-i empus.*
 with machete UO.1-slash-LOC garden
 'With a machete I slashed the garden.'
 (6-33) *Aréh-aréh Jenaka pè turun ari batang ni kayu.*
 RED-slow Jenaka also/even descend from tree.trunk POSS wood
 'Carefully Jenaka came down from the tree.' (IK:130)

6.2.2 Fronted arguments

Arguments (both direct and oblique) can be fronted before their predicates. The unmarked ordering of constituents in Gayo is predicate-subject, a feature it shares with related languages such as Toba Batak and Classical Malay (Cumming 1991). This is statistically the most frequent order in Gayo, and it is the ordering in which elicited translations of isolated clauses occur.

The fronting of a direct core argument is traditionally referred to as 'topicalisation' (Foley & Van Valin 1984:125), as fronted direct core arguments often code topical information. Durie (1985) refers to the position immediately preceding the verb as 'core-topic position' in Acehnese. In Gayo also, fronted NPs often signal that their referent is topical. Example (6-34) is the introduction to a folk tale. A participant is introduced in an

existential clause. In the clause that follows it, the established participant is referred to with a fronted NP that serves as the topic of subsequent discourse:

- (6-34) *Ara sara jema rëje, ulubalang. Ulubalang=ni nge*
 EXIST one person king domain.lord domain.lord=this FOC
le kerje ...
 already married
 ‘There once was a king, a domain lord. This domain lord was married ...’
 (SLG:206)

However, fronting can also be associated with emphasis on the fronted constituent. In examples (6-35) and (6-36) the fronted subjects are followed by the focus particle *pè* ‘also/ even’ (§12.4.1.3):

- (6-35) *Si rawan=a pè i-luah-n=è.*
 REL male=that also/even UO-free-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ
 ‘The boy was married off by them.’ (Ijô)
 (6-36) *Pe-niré-n jema rawan pè gëre ara.*
 NOM-bathe person male also/even not EXIST
 ‘There isn’t even a men’s bathing place.’ (Ijô)

In subordinate clauses, subjects typically precede their predicate. Consider examples (6-37) to (6-39). In these examples the subordinate clauses are in square brackets and fronted subjects are in **bold**.

- (6-37) *Nge payah bang [wè mu-jëge-i ine=é].*
 already difficult UNC 3 AO-guard-LOC mother=3.POSS
 ‘It was difficult for her to look after her mother.’
 (6-38) *Selo mampat [**kam** mun-umah=è]?*
 when nice 2.PL AO-carry=3.N.SUBJ
 ‘When is (a) suitable (time) for you to take it?’ (Linge)
 (6-39) *Nge i-èngon ama-ine=é [sensém=é nge ara].*
 already UO-see father-mother=3.POSS ring=3.POSS already EXIST
 ‘His mother and father saw that his ring was there.’ (SLG:239)

Finally, subjects are often fronted for no apparent discourse reason. This can occur with intransitive, existential, and transitive clause types. Consider examples (6-40) to (6-42):

- (6-40) *Waktu malè pestak pëjer-soboh, **manuk** mu-ling.*
 when will rise dawn-morning bird INTR-voice
 ‘When the morning is about to dawn, the birds sing.’ (IK:167)
 (6-41) *Aman Si Métun-Métun jema jujur. Gëre penah wè pe-cogah.*
 Aman TITLE Métun-Métun person honest not ever 3 T.TEXT-lie
 ‘Aman Si Métun-Métun was an honest person. He had never lied before.’
 (Métun)
 (6-42) *Roa jema ari si delé=a tengah i-senawat-i tentera Jepang.*
 two person from REL many=that CONT UO-whip-LOC soldier Japanese
 ‘Two people from the group were being whipped by the Japanese soldiers.’
 (IK:56)

6.3 Left and right dislocation

6.3.1 Left dislocation

6.3.1.1 Morphosyntax of left dislocation

Left dislocation is where a NP occurs in the position immediately preceding the clause in 'dislocated topic' position (Foley & Van Valin 1984). The NP is separated from the clause by a pause, which is represented orthographically here by a comma. In contrast with fronted arguments, the extracted NP is typically cross-referenced in the clause by a pronoun. Left-dislocated topics can be cross-referenced by a resumptive pronoun in the clause that they precede. The pronoun can function as a subject, as in (6-43); a non-subject, as in (6-44); a possessive NP, as in (6-45); or within a PP, as in (6-46). In these examples the resumptive pronouns are in **bold**:

- (6-43) *Si roa=ni, wè gère nè m-ine.*
REL two=this 3 not anymore INTR-mother
'These two, they didn't have a mother anymore.' (Ijô)
- (6-44) *Sengéda=ni, i-betih=è tempat ni gajah=ni=ne.*
Sengéda=this UO-know=3.N. SUBJ place POSS elephant=this=earlier
'As for Sengéda, he knew where the elephant was.'
- (6-45) *Uten=ni, Ibu Tien empu=é.*
forest=this Ibu Tien owner=3.POSS
'This forest, Ibu Tien is its owner.'
- (6-46) *Ama, nge ku-osah pèng ku wè.*
father already UO.1-give money to 3
'Father, I have given some money to him.'

Clauses preceded by a dislocated NP do not always contain a pronoun co-referential with the dislocated topic, as the pronoun can be ellipsed (§6.7). Consider examples (6-47) and (6-48):

- (6-47) *Melala=ni, mokot nge ara i Gayô.*
Melala=this be.a.long.time already EXIST LOC Gayo
'This Melala (clan), (they) have been in Gayo for a long time.' (IK:79)
- (6-48) *Unik, ke pecik-en ke ngét.*
bee if (UO-)squeeze-CAUS1 BCKGR AO:bite
'Bees, if (they) are squeezed, (they) bite.'

In cases where there is no salient relationship between the left-dislocated NP and the clause, the relationship is retrievable to the interlocutor from the context:

- (6-49) *Basa Indonèsia, kotèk Jepang.*
language Indonesian dirty Japanese
'The Japanese spoke Bahasa Indonesia badly.' (lit. 'Bahasa Indonesia, the Japanese were dirty.')

A left-dislocated NP often precedes a clause containing a measure phrase of which the dislocated topic is the extracted head. In example (6-50) the quantifier *bèwèn* 'all' (§4.4.4.1) takes an enclitic that is co-referential with the dislocated topic. Other quantifiers and numerals do not have a co-referential enclitic pronoun, as in (6-51):

- (6-50) *Anak ni Urang Munté=ni, bèwèn=é beru.*
 offspring POSS person Munté=this all=3.POSS girl
 'The children of the Munté (clan), all of them are girls.' (IK:205)
- (6-51) *Kejadian si lagu n=ini, delé terjadi i Gayô.*
 incident REL way POSS=this many happen LOC Gayo
 'Incidents like this, many happen in Gayo.' (IK:84)

Dislocated topics are often introduced by the conjunction *ike* 'if' (§16.1.4):

- (6-52) *Ike tepung, gëre te-beli nè.*
 if flour not UO.DC-buy anymore
 'Flour, it's not purchasable anymore (i.e. it's too expensive).'

A left-dislocated NP can be possessive, in which case the resumptive pronoun is also possessive. Consider examples (6-53) and (6-54):

- (6-53) *Ni kurik=ni, delé anak=é.*
 POSS chicken=this many offspring=3.POSS
 'This chicken, she had many chicks.' (SLG:130)
- (6-54) *Nenong, paké umah=ku ari Simpang Tige.*
 1.POSS person house=1.POSS from Simpang Tige
 'Me (lit. mine), my wife is from Simpang Tige.'

Left-dislocated possessive NPs also occur in sentences where the possessive relationship is not overt, but rather there is an implied benefactive relationship. Consider example (6-55):

- (6-55) *Ningko, i-beli=ko empus.*
 2.POSS UO-buy=2.N.SUBJ garden
 '(For) you (lit. yours), you bought a garden (i.e. for yourself).'

Two dislocated topics can occur in the same complex sentence. In (6-56), both the left-dislocated NPs are represented by pronouns in the clause from which they are extracted:

- (6-56) *Inen Mayak, ike ben kerje, Aman Mayak, oya le lëwen=é.*
 Inen Mayak if just married Aman Mayak that FOC opposite=3.POSS
 'Inen Mayak is just married, if she is just married, Aman Mayak, that is her companion.' (Pukes)

6.3.1.2 Functions of left dislocation

Dislocated topics are used to reintroduce the referent of a NP that was mentioned earlier. In (6-57), the dislocated topic is in **bold**:

- (6-57) *Wè roa sara ine. Sara be-geral Peteri. Sara*
 3 two one mother one MID-name princess one
abang=é. Jadi, si roa=ni, wè gëre nè
 older.brother=3.POSS so REL two=this 3 not anymore

m-ine, gère nè m-ama.
 INTR-mother not anymore INTR-father
 'They were two (people with) one mother. One was named Princess.
 She had one brother. So, these two, they didn't have a mother anymore,
 and didn't have a father anymore.'

A dislocated topic can also be used when the speaker wishes to draw attention to something in view that the speaker is about to comment on:

- (6-58) *Uten=ni, aku nebang=è.*
 forest=this 1 AO:chop=3.N.SUBJ
 'This forest, I will chop it down.'

Left dislocation is also used to signal contrast. In example (6-59), the dislocated NP signals a shift in attention to the speaker from someone else in preceding discourse:

- (6-59) *Aku, ku-tos rerum.*
 I UO.1-know k.o.sweet
 'As for me, I made *rerum*.'

6.3.2 Right dislocation

Right dislocation is the inverse of left dislocation, in that a NP that is co-referential with a pronoun in the clause occurs after that clause. The same syntactic roles as for left dislocation apply for the pronoun in right dislocations. Right dislocation is used where the reference of the pronoun in a clause may be uncertain or ambiguous. Consider examples (6-60) to (6-61):

- (6-60) *Nge i-unuh-n=è diri=é, peteri=a.*
 already UO-kill-CAUS1=3.N. SUBJ self=3.POSS princess=that
 'She has killed herself, the princess.' (SLG:122)
- (6-61) *Sahan ngòk mun-emah=è ku Banda Acéh, gajah=a?*
 who can AO-carry=3.N. SUBJ to Banda Aceh elephant=that
 'Who is able to carry it to Banda Aceh, that elephant?' (Linge)

6.4 Reflexives

In this section I describe reflexives and other functions of the reflexive marker *diri* 'self'. Reflexivisation is described in this chapter due to the fact that it operates at the level of the clause. Features of the reflexive clause are described in §6.4.1, and in §6.4.2 various reflexive expressions are discussed.

6.4.1 The reflexive clause

Reflexive clauses contain two arguments, an actor and an undergoer, with a direct or indirect undergoer argument containing the reflexive marker *diri* 'self'. *Diri* is modified by a possessive enclitic that is coreferential with the antecedent. The antecedent of a reflexive is an actor argument, which may or may not be a subject. Examples (5-34) and (5-35) are repeated here, demonstrating that the antecedent of a reflexive construction can be an actor subject, as in (6-62) or an actor non-subject, as (6-63):

- (6-62) *Udin si munyelét-i diri=é.*
 Udin REL AO:razor-LOC self=3.POSS
 'It was Udin who cut himself with a razor.'

- (6-63) *I-selét Udin diri=é.*
 UO-razor Udin self=3.POSS
 'Udin cut himself with a razor.'

Example (6-64) contains an intransitive clause where the subject refers to an experiencer (actor), and in (6-65) the subject is an experiencer in a phrasal-verb construction. In these examples the undergoer is represented by an oblique argument:

- (6-64) *Gère wè kemèl kin diri=é.*
 not 3 shy DAT self=3.POSS
 'She wasn't ashamed of herself.' (IK:205)

- (6-65) *Nge bengis até=wé kin diri=é.*
 already angry liver=3.POSS DAT self=3.POSS
 'He was angry at himself.'

Diri can also occur in non-reflexive constructions, in which case the reference is to one's 'body' or 'self':

- (6-66) *Ara sara perasan wan diri ni manusie.*
 EXIST one feeling inside:POSS self POSS human
 'There is a feeling inside (the bodies of) people.'

Often this non-reflexive use is disambiguated by being expressed as *atas diri* or *atan (ni)* *diri* (lit. 'on top of oneself'):

- (6-67) *Ike sana-sana terjadi ku atas diri=mu, turah i-betih=è.*
 if RED-what happen to top self=2.POSS must UO-know=3.N. SUBJ
 'Whatever happens to you, they must know.' (IK:28)

An unusual function of the independent possessive pronouns occurs with clausal complements of manipulative predicates (§15.2.2.4), where the pronoun has a reflexive function. Where the complement of a manipulative verb contains a verb of giving such as *i-osah*, if the recipient is co-referential with the agent of the manipulative verb, the third person independent possessive pronoun *nisè* (§10.1.2.4) is used. *Diri* cannot be used in these constructions. Consider example (6-68):

- (6-68) *I-kén-i=é; aku n-osah sèn ku nisè_i.*
 UO-order-LOC=3.N. SUBJ 1 AO-give money to 3.POSS
 'He_i ordered me to give some money to him_i.'

With the third person independent (non-possessive) pronoun, the reference can be ambiguous:

- (6-69) *I-kén-i=é; aku n-osah sèn ku wè_{i/j}.*
 UO-order-LOC=3.N. SUBJ 1 AO-give money to 3
 'He_i ordered me to give some money to him_{i/j}.'

Diri can also refer to a reflexive possessor. Consider example (6-70):

- (6-70) *Dabuh i-unuh-ni pôn=é=ne kôrô diri=é.*
 begin UO-kill-CAUSI uncle=3.POSS=earlier buffalo self=3.POSS
 'Uncle began to kill his own buffaloes.' (SLG:69)

In many cases, predicates with inherently reflexive semantics are expressed with verbs marked by the actor prefix *mun-* (§7.1), e.g. *mu-niri* 'bathe (oneself)', *muminah* 'move (oneself)', *munite* 'warm oneself near a fire'. There are also a number of fixed expressions that contain *diri* 'self'. These are described in the following sections.

6.4.2 Reflexive expressions

There are two fixed expressions containing the reflexive pronoun *diri* 'self'. These function as clausal adjuncts. The expression *kin diri* is a lexicalised expression meaning 'by oneself', and is distinguished from oblique arguments by the fact that it functions as a clausal adjunct. As an adjunct, *kin diri* is distinguished from its use as an oblique argument by the fact that it is often realised as a single phonological word: *ken diri*, i.e. the vowel in *kin* is weakened to schwa (§2.2.3). Consider examples (6-71) and (6-72):

- (6-71) *Batang n=asam=a mu-rebah kin diri=é.*
 tree POSS=orange=that INTR-fall.down for self=3.POSS
 'That orange tree fell down by itself.'
- (6-72) *Ulu=é mu-tetah kasè ken diri=é.*
 head=3.POSS INTR-fix later for self=3.POSS
 'His head will heal up later by itself.'

Another reflexive expression is the expression *sabé diri* 'amongst one another':

- (6-73) *Si nge mulo kerje tengah=a nge pané*
 REL already first marry long.ago=that already clever
be-pe-pongot-en sabé diri=é.
 MID.PL-RED-weep among self=3.POSS
 'The ones who married long ago were clever at weeping with each other.'²
 (IK:72)
- (6-74) *Jema si lalu-lintes sine be-sisu sabé diri=é.*
 person REL pass-go.by earlier MID-whisper among self=3.POSS
 'The people passing by whispered amongst themselves.' (IK:212)

6.5 Comparison

There are two ways in which comparison is expressed in Gayo: morphologically, whereby a predicate is modified by the comparative suffix *-(n)en*; or lexically, whereby a predicate is modified by the adverb *lebih* 'more'. The comparative suffix is restricted to use with certain stative verbs, and *lebih* is used more generally. These two strategies are often in free variation with a single verb, as demonstrated in examples (6-75a and b) with the verb *kôl* 'big':

² *pe-pongot-en* (*mumongot* 'weep'): ritual weeping accompanied by poetic performance. This is a tradition of Gayo women which is performed at weddings.

- (6-75) a. *Kôl-en ulu dibak bulang.*
 big-COMP head than hat
 '(His) head is bigger than (his) hat.' (Idiomatic: 'He is proud/arrogant.')
- b. *Ara si lebih kôl ari oya.*
 EXIST REL more big from that
 'There were (some) who were bigger than that.' (IK:40)

With both of these strategies, the entity under comparison is represented by a PP. In (6-75a and b) these PPs are headed by *dibak* 'than' or *ari* 'from' respectively. The PP can be headed by *urum* 'with' (§11.2.1) or *ari* 'from' (§11.1.5) (occurring only with predicates modified by *lebih*). There are also certain prepositions that are used exclusively in comparative constructions; these are *adih*, *bidak*, *dibak/nibak*, and *dari pède/ dari pada*.³

PPs denoting objects of comparison differ from other PPs by the fact that the preposition of comparison can itself take a PP complement. All of the prepositions except *urum* 'with' and *ari* 'from' can take PP complements. Consider examples (6-76) and (6-77):

- (6-76) *Ramah-an i sien adih i so.*
 friendly-COMP LOC here than LOC yon
 'It's friendlier here than there.'
- (6-77) *Dekat-an pè aku urum ko bidak urum uyet ni rongok.*
 close-COMP also/even 1 with 2 than with vein POSS neck
 'I am closer to you than your jugular vein (i.e. is to you).' (IK:5)

6.5.1 Comparative suffix: -(n)en

The comparative suffix *-(n)en* is attached to stative verbs to signal comparison. Comparison is signalled in this way only with stative verbs that have in their semantic structure the element of gradability (Croft 1991). Consider examples (6-78) and (6-79):

- (6-78) *Jeroh-en oya bidak umah=te=ni.*
 good-COMP that than house=our.INCL=this
 'That (house) is better than our house.'
- (6-79) *Belangé-nen ipak=ni bidak so.*
 beautiful-COMP little.girl=this than yon
 'This girl is more beautiful than her (over there).'

6.5.2 lebih 'more'

There are certain situations where the suffixing strategy cannot be used. Often predicates in comparative constructions already take an intransitive affix, and cannot be further modified by a suffix of comparison (§6.5.1). In such cases, comparison is expressed with the adverb *lebih*, as in (6-80), where the predicate is represented by a verb marked by the intransitive prefix *mu-*:

³ *dari pède/ dari pada* < (M/BI) *dari pada*.

- (6-80) *Anak lebih mu-rege ari reta.*
 offspring more INTR-value from wealth
 'Children are more valuable than wealth.' (IK:126)

Lebih also modifies predicates in phrasal-verb constructions (§5.2.4.2). In example (6-81) the predicate is represented by the phrasal verb *sayang* (*até*) 'feel compassion (for)':

- (6-81) *Wè jema rawan, lebih sayang até kin jema banan.*
 3 person male more feel.compassion liver DAT person female
 'He was a man, he had a stronger feeling towards women (than towards men).'

(IK:96)

In comparative clauses marked with *lebih*, PPs of comparison contain the prepositions *ari*, as in (6-80) above; or *dari pèdel/dari pada*, as in (6-82):

- (6-82) *Dari pède maté mu-lapé wan uten so, aku lebih*
 than dead INTR-hungry inside:POSS forest yon I more
mera mangan catu gadung.
 want AO:eat portion cassava
 'Rather than starving in that jungle, I would prefer to eat a bit of cassava.'

(IK:60)

6.5.3 *dis* 'same' and *lèn* 'different'

Comparative constructions can also contain the stative verbs of comparison *dis* 'same' and *lèn* 'different'. These two verbs take complements with PPs headed by *urum* 'with' and *ari* 'from', respectively:

- (6-83) *Wè gère dis urum sanah pè.*
 3 not same with what also/even
 'He is not like anything else.'
- (6-84) *Lèn ari oya nge mèh kalah.*
 different from that already finished defeated
 'All that were different from that were defeated.' (SLG:184)

When comparing a particular attribute between two entities, these verbs take a NP complement whose head is represented by a verb. In examples (6-85) and (6-86) the NP complements are in boldface:

- (6-85) *Dis pedih **kôl=é.***
 same very big=3.POSS
 'Their heights are very similar.' (SLG:83)
- (6-86) *Lèn ètiket ni **até=wé.***
 different etiquette POSS liver=3.POSS
 'The way they behave is different.' (lit. 'The etiquette of their liver is different.')

(IK:92)

6.6 Serialisation

Verb serialisation is a feature of many languages in South-East Asia. Serialisation is a relationship between two verbs in which ‘there is no marker of subordination or coordination, no dividing intonational or morphological mark of a clause boundary, and the verbs cannot have separate scope for tense, mood, aspect, illocutionary force, and negation’ (Durie 1988:3). Serial-verb constructions contain two predicates that share a single subject NP, forming a single clause. They specify a number of different semantic relationships between the two states of affairs referred to by the predicates.

6.6.1 Formal properties of serialisation

There are a number of features that characterise serialisation in Gayo. Firstly, the verbs share a single subject NP, and the entire construction takes a single intonation contour. The two verbs represent two separate predicates, which can be separated by their shared subject. Unlike paratactic constructions (§16.5) the two verbs are not separated by a pause, and neither are the verbs marked by a conjunction, as is the case with subordination (§16.1). The shared subject NP in a serial-verb construction typically precedes both its predicates, as in (6-87a), but it can also intervene between the two verbs, as in example (6-87b):

- (6-87) a. *Jema ke nge [gèh] [simen pedih].*
 person BCKGR already come crowded very
 ‘People have come in crowds.’ (IK:39)
- b. *[Gèh] jema [be-belenye] ku Isak.*
 come person MID-buy to Isak
 ‘People come to shop in Isak.’ (SLG:61)

As stated above, the two predicates in serial-verb constructions share a single subject NP, and constitute a single clause. Example (6-88) contains two predicates with two different subjects, and as such is not a serial-verb construction. That these constitute two separate clauses is also evident by the fact that they are obligatorily separated by a pause (represented by a comma):

- (6-88) *Wè [gèh], [i-èntong=è] aka=é.*
 3 come AO-visit=3.N. SUBJ older.sister=3.POSS
 ‘He came, (and) he visited his sister.’

Serial-verb constructions contain at least one intransitive predicate, and either a second intransitive predicate, as in (6-87) above, or a transitive predicate, as in examples (6-89) and (6-90):

- (6-89) *[Mongot] anak ni rëje [munyemah-i uku*
 AO:weep offspring POSS king AO:pay.homage-LOC knee
ni aka=é].⁴
 POSS older.sister=3.POSS
 ‘The king’s child wept, bowing down to the knees of his older sister.’ (IK:194)

⁴ *i-semah*: To pay homage to someone by placing the hands together and touching one’s forehead with the fingertips.

- (6-90) *Engi=é* [gèh] [mun-èntong aka=é].
 younger.sibling=3.POSS come AO-visit older.sister=3.POSS
 'The younger brother came to visit his older sister.'

There are a number of other formal restrictions on serial-verb constructions in Gayo, involving word order and verb classes. These restrictions are discussed in the individual sections on the functional types of serialisation.

6.6.2 Functional types of serial-verb constructions

There are a number of different functional relationships between the two predicates in serial-verb constructions. This relationship depends on the verb class to which the predicates belong. These relationships are outlined in the following subsections.

6.6.2.1 Simultaneous states of affairs

Two different patterns of serialisation code simultaneous states of affairs. In the first pattern, a stative verb specifies the manner in which the action specified by the second verb in the construction was carried out. The stative verb is glossed in English by an adverb. In such cases the stative verb typically precedes the non-stative verb. Consider examples (6-91) and (6-92):

- (6-91) *Wè* [bacar] [r[em]alan].
 3 fast INTR-walk
 'He walked quickly.'
- (6-92) [Lincah] *pumu=é* [mu-dere].
 swift hand=3.POSS AO-hit
 'His hands struck swiftly.' (IK:83)

Although less common, the stative verb can also follow the non-stative verb, as in example (6-93):

- (6-93) *Wè* [r[em]alan] [bacar].
 3 INTR-walk fast
 'He walked quickly.'

The second pattern of serialisation that codes simultaneous states of affairs involves clauses containing two non-stative verbs, with the clause specifying simultaneous actions. The second predicate in the serial construction is translated as a gerund. Consider examples (6-94) and (6-95):

- (6-94) *Jema i dëret* [kedik] [be-hahoi].
 person LOC outside laugh MID-call.out
 'The people outside laughed calling out (lit. calling hahoi).' (IK:212)
- (6-95) *Urang-urang kampung Lumut* [be-doa] [munatang-an pumu ku atas].
 RED-person village Lumut MID-pray AO:raise-CAUS1 hand t o top
 'The people of Lumut village prayed, raising (their) hands up.' (IK:71)

Where the first predicate in the serial construction is a resultative verb (§4.3.1), there can be ambiguity as to whether the two events occurred simultaneously or in succession. Consider example (6-96):

- (6-96) *Wè [kunul] [mongot].*
 3 sit AO:weep
 'She sat weeping.' or 'She sat and (then) wept.'

6.6.2.2 Purpose

A serial construction that occurs frequently in the corpus is a purposive construction where the first predicate, represented by either *beluh* 'go' or *gèh* 'come', is followed by a second predicate referring to the goal or purpose of the 'coming' or 'going'. Unlike serial constructions referring to simultaneous events, the ordering of predicates is fixed, as the motion verb always precedes the predicate referring to the goal or purpose. Consider examples (6-97) and (6-98):

- (6-97) *Wè [beluh] [mangan] ku umah kenduri.*
 3 go AO:eat to house party
 'He has gone to eat at the house (where) the party (is).'

- (6-98) *Mude Suara [gèh] [nginté].*
 Mude Suara come AO:propose
 'Mude Suara came to propose (i.e. marriage).' (Pukes)

The first verb in purposive serial constructions must be one of these two basic motion verbs. Verbs that specify manner of motion, which are morphologically complex, e.g. *r[em]alan* 'walk' and *mu-sangka* 'run', cannot function as the first predicate in serial-verb constructions of purpose:

- (6-99) **Wè [r[em]alan] [mangan] ku umah kenduri.*
 3 INTR-walk AO:eat to house party
 ('He has walked to eat at the house (where) the party (is).')

6.6.2.3 Reason/result

In some serial-verb constructions, the second predicate, which is undergoer-oriented, specifies the reason or cause why the state of affairs expressed by the first predicate, which is stative, came about. The undergoer-oriented predicate can take a non-subject argument. Consider examples (6-100) and (6-101):

- (6-100) *Wè mané [maté] [i-tuh-i atang].*
 3 yesterday die UO-fall-LOC log
 'He died yesterday (after having been) fallen on by a log.'

- (6-101) *Tanoh ni ume [limus] [i-rata-n].*
 earth POSS paddy smooth UO-flat-CAUS1
 'The earth of the rice paddy was smooth after having been flattened.' (IK:117)

The subject NP can intervene between the two predicates:

- (6-102) [Maté] wè [i-tuh-i atang].
 die 3 UO-fall-LOC log
 'He died yesterday after having been fallen on by a log.'

When the ordering of the predicates is reversed, i.e. when the predicate denoting the outcome of an act is second, the clause conveys a resultative meaning. Compare examples (6-103) and (6-104) below with (6-100) and (6-101) above:

- (6-103) Wè [i-tuh-i atang] [maté].
 3 UO-fall-LOC log die
 'He was fallen on by a log (and) died.'
- (6-104) Tanoh ni ume [i-rata-n] [limus].
 earth POSS paddy UO-flat-CAUS1 smooth
 'The earth of the rice paddy was flattened smooth.' (IK:117)

6.7 Ellipsis

Ellipsis is where a phrase or clause is unexpressed, leaving a gap that is readily retrievable from the context. Sentences with ellipsed elements are grammatically complete constructions (Lyons 1969). Ellipsis is a discourse device, and is distinguished from grammatical operations such as equi-NP deletion (§15.2.1.2), where an argument is obligatorily deleted. Two kinds of constituents can be ellipsed in Gayo: subjects and VPs. Ellipsis is described in the following sections.

6.7.1 Ellipsis of subjects

A characteristic of subject NPs is that they are frequently ellipsed in discourse. A subject is often deleted when it refers to a highly topical participant. Dixon (1979) refers to this as 'chaining' or 'topic chaining'. In examples (6-105) to (6-108) the ellipsed subject is expressed as a pronoun in the English translation (in **bold**):

- (6-105) Abang=é si mu-sangka=ne i-pèrah-i Amat Banta.
 older.brother=3.POSS REL INTR-run=earlier UO-look-LOC Amat Banta
 Ahèrè demu. Renyel i-kintè-n.
 eventually found then UO-propose-CAUS1
 'Her older brother who ran away was searched for by Amat Banta. Eventually **(he)** was found. Then **(he)** was offered for marriage.' (SLG:192)
- (6-106) Inen Mayak gère mera mu-sôt, pe-bening.
 Inen Mayak not want INTR-answer T.EXT-silent
 'Inen Mayak wouldn't answer, **(she)** was confused.' (IK:87)
- (6-107) Sana kati waktu nge i-tulung=è, gère nè
 what so.that when already UO-help=3.N. SUBJ not anymore
 mun-inget kin budi=é.
 AO-remember DAT manners=3.POSS
 'Why is it that when he helped, **(he)** didn't remember his manners?' (IK:146)

- (6-108) *Mari oya si Métun-Métun munirô m-inum, kerna*
 finish that TITLE Métun-Métun AO:request INTR-drink because
gerah-an, gëre nè be-nomé.
 thirsty-ADVERS not anymore MID-lie.down
 'After that, Si Métun-Métun asked to drink, because (she) was thirsty,
 (she) hadn't had any sleep.' (Métun)

6.7.2 Ellipsis of VPs

In clauses that specify motion to or from a location, the verb of motion is often ellipsed. The ellipsed verb is traceable due to the presence of a PP headed by *ku* 'to' (§11.1.4) or *ari* 'from' (§11.1.5). This is demonstrated in (6-109) and (6-110):

- (6-109) *Ko ngôk lepas ku ton ni Peteri Bunge Bangkawali*
 2 can able to place POSS Peteri Bunge Bangkawali
 'You will be able (to go) to Peteri Bunge Bangkawali's place.' (SLG:187)
- (6-110) *Aku ben ari kedé.*
 1 just from market
 'I have just (come) from the market.'

In other cases, VPs can be ellipsed where it is understood that the ellipsed predicate is identical to that of the clause that precedes it. This is the case if the ellipsed predicate is negated, as in (6-111); or if it is the complement of a matrix predicate, as in (6-112):

- (6-111) *Uén, mèn i dëret, enti i was!*
 boy play LOC land don't LOC inside
 'Boy! play outside, don't (play) inside!'
- (6-112) *Jema nge delé munginté ku Peteri Pukes=ni. Gëre*
 person already many AO:betel to princess Pukes=this not
mera Peteri Pukes=ni.
 want princess Pukes=this
 'Many people had proposed to Princess Pukes. Princess Pukes didn't want
 (to get married).' (Pukes)

Part III:
Verbal affixes

7 *Intransitive verb affixes*

This chapter covers the functions of affixes that derive intransitive verbs. Voice affixes are described in Chapter 8 and valence-increasing affixes in Chapter 9. The intransitive affixes are listed in Table 7-1:

Table 7-1: Affixes that derive intransitive verbs

<i>mun-</i>	actor prefix (intransitive clauses) (§7.1)
<i>ber-</i>	middle prefix (§7.2)
<i>ber-...-(n)en</i>	middle plural circumfix (§7.3)
<i>mu-/em-</i>	intransitive prefix/infix (§7.4)
<i>per-</i>	temporal extension prefix (§7.5)
<i>bersi-...-(n)en</i>	reciprocal circumfix (§7.6)
<i>ke-...-(n)en</i>	adversative circumfix (§7.7)

Each intransitive affix conveys a range of meanings. The meaning conveyed by the affix is determined by two factors: (1) The word class to which the base belongs; and (2) the context in which the derived verb occurs. The intransitive affixes are described individually in the following sections.

7.1 Actor prefix: *mun-*

The actor prefix *mun-* marks transitive and intransitive verbs, and signals that the subject NP bears the actor macrorole. Accordingly, this prefix is referred to as the actor prefix, and the clauses in which they occur are referred to as being actor-oriented (cf. Himmelmann 1991). With intransitive verbs, *mun-* signals that the act described by the verb is a deliberate, volitional event with a non-individuated undergoer, typically with an imperfective aspectual reading. Events described by these verbs involve an undergoer that is either an implied generic or reflexive participant, or an overt non-individuated undergoer that is coded as an incorporated noun (§6.1). In this section, verbs marked by *mun-* are categorised according to the syntactic category of the base to which they are attached. The behaviour of *mun-* in transitive clauses is described in §8.3.

7.1.1 With verbal bases

The prefix *mun-* attaches to bound verb roots, and never free verb roots. Many verb roots that take this prefix are uniquely distinguished from other verbal roots by the fact that they bear an initial nasal consonant, e.g. *-niri* ‘bathe’ *-nipi* ‘dream’, *-nanti* ‘wait’. Intransitive verbs bearing the prefix *mun-* mostly denote imperfective acts in which the referent of the subject NP is intentionally involved and the act is volitional. The event often implies a reflexive or generic undergoer e.g. *muminah* ‘move (oneself)’, *munomé* ‘lie (oneself) down’, *mun-ilih* ‘spit (saliva)’, and *munyucuk* ‘to weave (tapestries)’. Consider examples (7-1) and (7-2):

- (7-1) *Minah abang Gajah=ni ku=ini.*
 AO:move older.brother elephant=this to=here
 ‘Brother Elephant moved here.’

- (7-2) *Aku pè mu-niri mulo.*
 1 also/even AO-bathe first
 ‘I’ll have a bath first.’

A small number of non-volitional, non-intentional acts are expressed with verbs taking this prefix, e.g. *mun-engkor* ‘snore’ and *mu-nipi* ‘dream’. *Mun-* can also mark some intransitive verbs of cognition/emotion, taking an optional oblique argument denoting a stimulus. Consider example (7-3), which contains the verb *mumongot* ‘weep (over, for)’:

- (7-3) *Wè mongot kin anak=é.*
 3 AO:weep DAT offspring=3.POSS
 ‘She is weeping over her child.’

Attached to transitive roots (i.e. roots that can be undergoer-oriented), *mun-* has a detransitivising function, i.e. it derives intransitive verbs from transitive roots. This is discussed in §8.3.1. Example (7-4) is an example of this:

- (7-4) *Enti mun-ôsôh!*
 don’t AO-steal
 ‘Don’t steal!’ (*i-ôsôh* ‘steal’ VT)

7.1.2 With nominal bases

Mun- can attach to nouns to derive verbs that denote the prototypical action associated with the entity referred to by the nominal base. Such derivations are arranged in the following sections according to their general semantic features. ‘N’ refers to what is specified by the nominal base. *Mun-* derivations often denote actions that are associated exclusively with the entity referred to by the nominal base. Examples include *munginté* ‘propose marriage’ (*kinté* ‘prepared betel’),¹ *muniru* ‘warm oneself by a fire’ (*niru* ‘fireplace’), *munusu* ‘drink milk (i.e. baby)’ (*susu* ‘milk, breast’), and *mungëber* ‘give news, tell’ (*këber* ‘news’):

¹ *munginté*: A formal engagement ceremony which involves a potential groom and his extended family bringing a gift of specially prepared betel to the house of the potential bride’s family.

- (7-5) *Jema nge delé munginté ku Peteri Pukes=ni.*
 person already many AO:betel to princess Pukes=this
 'Many people had proposed (lit. presented betel) to Peteri Pukes.' (Pukes)
- (7-6) *Mungëber wè ku Kutacané.*
 AO:news 3 to Kutacané
 'He told the news to (the people of) Kutacané.'

Other *mun-* derivations with nominal bases are discussed in the following sections according to their shared semantic properties.

7.1.2.1 'make or prepare N'

Mun- can signal that the entity specified by the nominal base is being made or prepared. Examples include *mune-sop* 'make soup', *mumëger* 'make fences (*pëger* 'fence'), and *munété* 'make a roof' (*tété* 'roof'):

- (7-7) *Ine tengah mune-sop.*
 mother CONT AO-soup
 'Mother is making soup.'
- (7-8) *Ama nge beluh ku belang mumëger.*
 father already go to field AO:fence
 'Father has gone to the field to make a fence.'

7.1.2.2 'use N'

Nouns affixed by *mun-* can denote an action where the entity referred to by the nominal base that is being used as an instrument or tool. These *mun-* derivations differ from *ber-* derivations 'use N' (§7.2.6.3) in that they imply that the thing being used is used in a durative sense or is being affected by the act. Examples include *mu-rokok* 'smoke' (*rokok* 'cigarette'), *mu-jelbang* 'hoe' (*jelbang* 'hoe'), *mungôrô* 'plough, run buffaloes over a wet rice-paddy before planting to soften the ground' (*kôrô* 'buffalo').

- (7-9) *Be-bujang muloi mu-jelbang.*
 RED-boy begin AO-hoe
 'The boys began hoeing.' (IK:115)

7.1.2.3 'remove or expel N'

The prefix *mun-* can signal that the entity specified by the nominal base is removed or discarded. Examples include *mungisip* 'remove scales (from a fish)' (*kisip* 'fish-scale'), *mu-jangut* 'pluck (a bird)' (*jangut* 'feather'), *munyeding* 'remove husks or twigs (e.g. from coffee or tobacco)' (*ceding* 'twig, husk'). The prefix can also signal similar meanings with certain bodily functions, e.g. *mun-ilih* 'spit' (*ilih* 'saliva') and *munguyu* 'fart' (*kuyu* 'wind').

- (7-10) *Enti mun-ilih baring ku si.*
 don't AO-spit wherever to where
 'Don't spit just anywhere.' (Melalatoa 1982:116)

7.2 Middle prefix: *ber-*

The prefix *ber-* derives middle verbs. The notion of ‘middle voice’ was first employed by the Ancient Greek and Sanskrit grammarians. ‘Middle’ states of affairs are characterised by Lyons (1969:373) as a situation where ‘the action or state affects the subject of the verb or his interests’. With middle verbs in Gayo, i.e. *ber-* formations, the participant is typically in control of the action as well as being affected by it. The reader is referred to Kemmer (1993) for a detailed survey of the semantics of the middle voice. The prefix *ber-* can attach to nouns and verbs, both intransitive and transitive, to derive intransitive verbs.

Many of the bound roots associated with this prefix reflect the meanings typically expressed by ‘deponent’ verbs cross-linguistically, i.e. verbs that have middle semantics and lack unaffixed counterparts (Kemmer 1993:22). The middle prefix *ber-* signals a number of different meanings. These are described in the following sections. A number of the meanings signalled by *ber-* are common to formations with either nominal or verbal bases. These are discussed in §7.2.1 to §7.2.5. Some meanings apply exclusively to derivations with nominal bases. These are described in §7.2.6.

7.2.1 Intransitive bases: specifying multiple participants

The middle prefix can be attached to most intransitive verb roots to specify that multiple participants are involved. This can occur with free verb roots, e.g. *be-kunul* ‘sit (multiple participants)’ (*kunul* ‘sit’), *be-hèk* ‘tired (multiple participants)’ (*hèk* ‘tired’), *ber-ongot* ‘inactive (multiple participants)’ (*ongot* ‘inactive’):

- (7-11) *Be-kunul kite.*
 MID-sit we.INCL
 ‘Let’s sit down.’ (*kunul* ‘sit’)

This meaning can also be conveyed when attached to bound verb roots. Examples include *ber-èsot* ‘move (multiple participants)’ (*m-èsot* ‘move’) and *be-ganti* ‘change’ (*i-ganti* ‘change’):

- (7-12) *Bèwèn=é ber-èsot.*
 all=3.POSS MID-move
 ‘Everyone moved.’ (*m-èsot* ‘move’) (IK:115)
- (7-13) *Be-ganti pemerintahan urum pemerintahan lèn.*
 MID-change government with government different
 ‘The government changed over to a different government.’

Ber- can attach to nouns to derive verbs denoting activities typically involving two or more participants. Examples include *be-catur* ‘play chess’ (*catur* ‘chess’), *be-sinte* ‘hold a gathering’ (*sinte* ‘gathering’), *be-janyi* ‘make a promise’ (*janyi* ‘promise’), *be-jine* ‘fornicate’ (*jine* ‘fornication’), *be-perang* ‘wage war’ (*perang* ‘war’), and *be-gerilya* ‘engage in guerilla warfare’ (*gerilya* ‘guerilla’):

- (7-14) *Oya kati aku be-perang.*
 that so.that 1 MID-war
 ‘That’s why I am waging war.’ (IK:64)

Ber- is also attached to nouns that denote acts of communal speaking or singing. Examples include *be-nyanyi* 'sing' (*nyanyi* 'song'), *be-dèngang* 'chant' (*dèngang* 'chant sung while working'), *be-didong* 'perform didong', *be-melèngkan* 'perform ritual speaking', and *be-salamu alaikum* 'greet, say *salamu alaikum*':²

- (7-15) *Wè gère be-salamu alaikum bang.*
 3 not MID-GREETING UNC
 'He probably didn't say a greeting.'
- (7-16) *I-pengé paké=a be-beru be-dèngang i palôh so.*
 UO-hear 3.PL=that RED-girl MID-chant LOC down.hill yon
 'They heard the girls singing a chant down the hill.' (IK:63)

7.2.2 Middle actions

Verbs with the prefix *ber-* denote actions that are controlled by the single participant, and in which the participant is affected by that action in some way. Examples include *be-buet* 'work' and *be-senum* 'dive, submerge':

- (7-17) *Ke-kelem we wè be-buet.*
 RED-night EMPH 3 MID-work
 'He worked late at night.' (SLG:70)
- (7-18) *Ke-kiding sine gère mera rede be-senum.*
 ghost earlier not want stop MID-submerge
 'The ghost wouldn't stop submerging (under the water).' (IK:171)

In one case, the prefix marks a verb denoting an involuntary act, i.e. *be-kesah* 'breathe':

- (7-19) *Bèwèn=é pè mari, be-kesah.*
 all=3.POSS also/even stop MID-breathe
 'They all rested (and) breathed (i.e. caught their breath).' (IK:52)

7.2.3 Middle verbs of saying

A number of derivations marked by *ber-* denote acts of saying. Examples include *be-cerak* 'talk', *be-peri* 'talk, speak', *be-sisu* 'whisper' and *be-kalam* 'talk, speak':

- (7-20) *Be-cerak renyel rėje=ne ku anan=é.*
 MID-talk then king=earlier to grandmother=3.POSS
 'The king then talked to his grandmother.' (SLG:31)
- (7-21) *Be-bujang dabuh be-sisu sabi diri=é.*
 RED-boy begin MID-whisper amongst self=3.POSS
 'The boys began whispering among themselves.' (IK:113)

There is one irregular form of *ber-* with this meaning. The form *belëjer* 'learn' (*i-ëjer* 'teach') contains an *l* in the place of *r*. It is further distinguished from the transitive form by its inverse meaning, i.e. *i-ëjer* 'teach' ~ *bel-ëjer* 'learn'. Compare (7-22) and (7-23):

² Arabic: *As-salāmu 'alaikum* lit. 'peace be unto you'. Common Muslim greeting used by Gayo people.

- (7-22) *Kite bel-ëjer kati pané.*
 we.INCL MID-study so.that clever
 'We study in order to be clever.'
- (7-23) *Kasè ku-ëjer tulis-baca ku ko.*
 later UO.1-teach write-read to 2
 'Later I will teach reading and writing to you.'

7.2.4 Signalling that an event has not occurred or will never occur

Attached to intransitive bases with dynamic meanings, *ber-* can signal that an act has not occurred or will not occur. This meaning is only conveyed with negated predicates. Consider examples (7-24) and (7-25):

- (7-24) *Kedang ko gëre nè ber-ulak.*
 perhaps 2 not anymore MID-return
 'Perhaps you will never come back.' (*ulak* 'return')
- (7-25) *Wè gëre be-nomé tengah k=ini ari Jakarta.*
 3 not MID-lie.down CONT to=here from Jakarta
 'He didn't sleep on his way here from Jakarta.' (*munomé* 'sleep')

7.2.5 Undergoer-oriented resultatives

With certain bound transitive bases, *ber-* can form intransitive verbs with undergoer-oriented resultative meanings. These constructions parallel 'actor-less' passive-type constructions cross-linguistically (Kemmer 1993:148). Predicates marked by *ber-* denote acts that have been completed. In contrast, the undergoer prefix *i-* specifies that the act has been carried out, but is not necessarily completed. Consider examples (7-26a and b):

- (7-26) a. *Kepile=mu nge be-jerang onè.*
 sweet.potato=2.POSS already MID-cook there
 'Your sweet potatoes are cooked (completely).'
- b. *Kepile=mu nge i-jerang.*
 sweet.potato=2.POSS already UO-cook
 'Your sweet potatoes have been cooked (partially or completely).'

This prefix can be attached to transitive verb roots to specify this meaning:

- (7-27) *Jantar=ni nge be-jerang.*
 vegetables=this already MID-cook
 'These vegetables are cooked.' (*i-jerang* 'cook')
- (7-28) *Lampu nge ber-unuh.*
 light already MID-kill
 'The light is turned off.' (*i-unuh* 'kill')

The prefix *ber-* can also form undergoer-oriented resultatives when attached to nominal bases that can also form the basis of a *mun-* derivation (§7.1.2). Examples (7-29) and (7-30) contain undergoer-oriented resultative derivations with nominal bases:

- (7-29) *Gulé kin mangan ruhul nge be-kisip.*
 fish as food midday already MID-fish.scale
 'The fish for lunch has been scaled.' (*mungisip* 'scale fish'; *kisip* 'fish scale')
- (7-30) *Kupi=a nge be-ceding.*
 coffee=that already MID-husk
 'The coffee has been husked.' (*munyeding* 'remove husks'; *ceding* 'husk')

When attached to the noun *geral* 'name', *ber-* derives a verb meaning 'be named'. The expansion of the name always follows its predicate:

- (7-31) *Ara sara anak=é be-geral Tentum Kapur'.*
 EXIST one offspring=3.POSS MID-name Tentum Kapur
 'She had one child (who was) named Tentum Kapur.' (IK:175)

7.2.6 Meanings associated exclusively with nominal bases

Verbs marked by *ber-* and containing nominal bases can convey several different but related meanings. These meanings all share a common characteristic in that they denote actions in which the entity referred to by the nominal base somehow affects the referent of the subject argument. The referent of the affixed nominal is not in any way changed or affected by the action. Nominal bases marked by the prefix *ber-* can be represented by compounds and complex NPs. In (7-32), the affixed nominal is represented by a compound:

- (7-32) *Kami jëmen, ngôk munulis, be-kaca mata pè ngôk.*
 we.EXCL long.ago can AO:write MID-glass eye also/even can
 'Long ago, we could write, we could also wear glasses.' (*kaca* 'glass';
mata 'eye')

The nominal base can also be modified by a measure phrase, as in (7-33):

- (7-33) *Aku be-baju roa kati enti sejuk.*
 I MID-shirt two so.that don't cold
 'I am wearing two shirts so that I won't get cold.'

It can also be modified by a descriptive phrase (§10.4), as in (7-34):

- (7-34) *Anak ni jema so be-baju ayu.*
 offspring POSS person yon MID-shirt new
 'That person's child is wearing a new shirt.'

Many *ber-* derivations with nominal bases denote acts that are continuous or repeated. Religious rituals are typically represented by verbs taking the prefix *ber-*. Examples include *be-doa* 'pray, supplicate' (*doa* 'prayer, supplication'), *be-da'wah* 'proselytise' (*da'wah* 'religious proselytising'), *be-sëdet* 'proclaim one's faith' (*sëdet* 'proclamation of faith'), and *be-sedekah* 'give charity' (*sedekah* 'charity'):

- (7-35) *Aku pè be-doa.*
 I also/even MID-prayer
 'I prayed.' (*doa* 'prayer') (IK:144)

The meanings conveyed exclusively with nominal bases by verbs marked by *ber-* are outlined in the following sections.

7.2.6.1 'cultivate N'

Ber- can denote acts of cultivating the referent of the nominal base. Examples include *ber-empus* 'cultivate a garden' (*empus* 'garden'), *ber-ume* 'cultivate a rice paddy' (*ume* 'rice paddy'), *be-bakô* 'cultivate tobacco' (*bakô* 'tobacco'), *be-kol* 'cultivate cabbages' (*kol* 'cabbage'), *be-lasun* 'cultivate onions' (*lasun* 'onion'). Consider example (7-36):

- (7-36) *Jenaka=ni ber-ume.*
 Jenaka=this MID-rice.paddy
 'Jenaka cultivated a rice paddy (i.e. for a living).' (*ume* 'rice paddy') (SLG:70)

The meaning of these derivations may be either habitual, as in (7-37) or durative, as in (7-38):

- (7-37) *Aman Das ber-empus.*
 Aman Das MID-plantation
 'Aman Das works in a plantation (for a living).'
- (7-38) *Wè galép ber-empus.*
 3 occupied MID-garden
 'He is busy working in the plantation (at this moment).'

7.2.6.2 'search/hunt for N'

With nominal roots which denote entities usually searched or hunted for, *ber-* derives verbs meaning 'to search for/look for N'. Examples include *be-cibit* 'search for edible fungus' (*cibit* 'edible fungus'), *be-lukup* 'search for wild mangoes' (*lukup* 'kind of wild mango'), *ber-akang* 'look for/hunt deer' (*akang* 'deer'), *ber-utem* 'look for firewood' (*utem* 'firewood'), and *be-kutu* 'search for (and pick out) lice from one's hair' (*kutu* 'louse'):

- (7-39) *Buet ni kekanak, oya le be-gulé.*
 work POSS child that FOC MID-fish
 'As for the work of a child, it is to look for fish.' (SLG:60)
- (7-40) *Jema banan be-kutu.*
 person woman MID-louse
 'The women were picking their lice.'

7.2.6.3 'use N'

With a number of nouns, *ber-* derives verbs that mean 'use N'. The verb refers to an act that is typically associated with the referent of the nominal base, as for example *be-repé* 'play a tambourine' (*repé* 'tambourine'), *be-ré* 'comb one's hair' (*ré* 'comb'), *ber-uak* 'take medicine' (*uak* 'medicine'), *be-bulang* 'wear a hat' (*bulang* 'hat'), *be-seruel* 'wear trousers' (*seruel* 'trousers'). These derivations are often glossed as 'use N', e.g. *be-lopah* 'use a knife' (*lopah* 'knife'), *be-payung* 'use an umbrella' (*payung* 'umbrella'), *be-parang* 'use a machete'. Consider examples (7-41) and (7-42):

- (7-41) *Jema rawan be-bulang.*
 person man MID-hat
 'Men wear hats.'

- (7-42) *Porak lô be-repé buet=é.*
 hot day MID-tambourine work=3.POSS
 'During the daytime he would play the tambourine.' (SLG:70)

With bases referring to items that are typically worn on the body, such as *bulang* 'hat', *seruel* 'trousers', *réncung* 'fighting dagger', and *pedang* 'sword', *ber-* derivations can also convey a sense of 'put on':

- (7-43) *Be-bulang, be-seruel, be-réncung,³ be-pedang. Renyel beluh*
 MID-hat MID-trousers MID-fighting.dagger MID-sword then go
ku kapal.
 to ship
 (He) put on a hat, put on trousers, put on a fighting dagger, put on a sword,
 then went to the ship.' (SLG:30)

Ber- is also attached to nouns that denote a means of transport, to derive a verb that means 'go by N', e.g. *be-motor* 'go by/drive a car' (*motor* 'car'), *be-kapal* 'go by ship' (*kapal* 'ship'), *be-perau* 'go by canoe' (*perau* 'canoe'), *be-gerbak* 'go by/drive a cart' (*gerbak* 'cart'), and *be-kude* 'go by/ride a horse' (*kude* 'horse'):

- (7-44) *Datu-datu, awan-awan, be-gerbak.*
 RED-great.grandparent RED-grandfather MID-cart
 '(My) great grandparents, and (my) grandparents drove a cart.'

This prefix can also signal a meaning of 'go by N' when attached to a base denoting a route or path of travel. Examples include *be-dëret* 'go by land' (*dëret* 'land') and *be-dené* 'go by road' (*dené* 'road'):

- (7-45) *Kite be-dené, potong renyel ku Takèngni.*
 we.INCL MID-road cut then to Takengon: this
 'We took the road cutting across to Takengon.' (Depik)

7.2.6.4 'attend N'

The prefix *ber-* can be attached to bases referring to institutions, deriving verbs meaning 'attend N'. For example, *be-sekulah* 'go to school' (*sekolah* 'school'), *be-kuliah* 'go to university' (*kuliah* 'university'), *be-jemat* 'attend the Friday prayer' (*Jemat* 'Friday (prayer)'):

- (7-46) *Besilô gëre nyanya nè be-jemat.*
 now not difficult anymore MID-Friday
 'It isn't difficult anymore to attend the Friday prayer anymore.'
 (*jemat* 'Friday prayer')
- (7-47) *Masa oya kekanak gëre be-sekolah.*
 era that child not MID-school
 'At that time children didn't go to school.' (SLG:60)

³ *réncung* (Acehnese: *rèncong*): Traditional Acehnese fighting dagger, like the Malay *keris*.

7.2.6.5 *Ambient meanings*

When attached to nouns that denote entities in the natural world, *ber-* signals that the participant is exposed in some way to the referent of the base, e.g. *ber-uren* 'go out in the rain' (*uren* 'rain'), *be-lèdak* 'walk or splash in the mud' (*lèdak* 'mud'), and *ber-ingi* 'go out at night' (*ingi* 'night'):

- (7-48) *Ber-uren mané, renyel sakét ulu=ngku.*
 MID-rain yesterday then sick head=1.POSS
 '(I) went out in the rain yesterday, then I got a headache.' (Melalatoa 1982: 425)
- (7-49) *Nge ber-ingi i dené.*
 already MID-night LOC road
 '(He) travelled in the night.' (SLG:26)

7.2.6.6 *With nominal bases specifying personal relationships*

Ber- can be attached to titles and kin terms (§10.1.1) to derive verbs meaning 'address someone as N'. Examples include *ber-ama* 'address someone as 'father'', (*ama* 'father'), *ber-ine* 'address someone as 'mother'' (*ine* 'mother'), *ber-abang* 'address someone as 'older brother'' (*abang* 'older brother'), *be-tutur* 'address someone by their kin term' (*tutur* 'kin term'), and *be-kam* 'address someone with the pronoun *kam*' (*kam* 2PL pronoun). Consider examples (7-50) and (7-51):

- (7-50) *Ber-ama ku ama, ber-ine ku ine.*
 MID-father to father MID-mother to mother
 'Address father as 'father', address mother as 'mother' (i.e. address your parents politely).'
- (7-51) *Urang Belang be-kam ku ama-ine=é.⁴*
 person Belangkejerèn MID-2.PL to father-mother=3.POSS
 'The people in Belangkejerèn (Gayo-Lues) address their parents with *kam*.'

With certain nouns that denote relationships between people, *ber-* derives verbs denoting the act of establishing that relationship. Examples include *be-pong* 'make friends' (*pong* 'friend'), *be-môsôh* 'make enemies' (*môsôh* 'enemy'), *be-lëwen* 'make enemies' (*lëwen* 'enemy, rival'):

- (7-52) *Hana kati Kebayakan be-môsôh urum Bebesen?*
 what so.that Kebayakan MID-enemy with Bebesen
 'Why did Kebayakan and Bebesen become enemies?'
- (7-53) *Kekanak=a be-pong urum itik.*
 child=that MID-friend with duck
 'That child is making friends with a duck.'

7.2.6.7 *With onomatopoeia*

When attached to some onomatopoeic bases, *ber-* marks a verb which means 'to produce the sound of [base]'. Such derivations are distinct from those marked by *mu-/em-* (§7.4) in

⁴ In contrast with the Gayo of Central Aceh, where this is considered *kasar* (impolite).

that with *ber-*, the production of the sound is either not controlled, or is not intentionally produced. Examples include *be-desuk* 'rustle (e.g. grass)', *be-debuk* 'produce the sound of falling fruit' *be-dèrèk* 'creak (e.g. timber)', *be-detum* 'fire (e.g. gun)', and *be-detak* 'produce the sound of breaking open (e.g. coconut)'.

- (7-54) *Enta be-detum bedil.*
 then MID-boom gun
 'Then the gun went boom.' (Melalatoa 1982:72)

7.3 Middle plural circumfix: *ber-...-(n)en*

The circumfix *ber-...-(n)en* signals similar meanings to *ber-*, except that the verb specifies resultative states of affairs (§4.3.1) involving multiple participants. The circumfix can attach to resultative verb roots, with the only difference in meaning from the unaffixed base being that multiple participants are involved. Examples include *be-kunul-en* 'be seated' (*kunul* 'sit') and *be-sesuk-en* 'be standing' (*sesuk* 'stand'). Consider example (7-55):

- (7-55) *Jema nge be-kunul-en mu-nanté-n motor.*
 person already MID.PL-sit AO-wait-CAUS1 vehicle
 'People are seated, waiting for the bus.' (*kunul* 'sit')

A similar meaning is conveyed with bound roots denoting controlled movements, i.e. roots that usually take the controlled motion affix *mu-l-em-* (§7.4). Examples include *be-sangka-nan* 'all have run away' (*mu-sangka* 'run'), *be-terbang-an* 'all have flown away' (*t[em]erbang* 'fly').

- (7-56) *Benatang-benang mèn be-sangka-nan.*
 RED-animal finished MID.PL-run
 'The animals have all run away.' (*mu-sangka* 'run') (IK:40)

The circumfix can attach to transitive verb roots to form verbs that denote events involving multiple participants. Examples include *be-kune-n* 'be asking' (*i-kune* 'ask'), *be-jerang-an* 'be cooking' (*i-jerang* 'cook'), and *be-juel-en* 'be selling' (*i-juel* 'sell'). Consider examples (7-57) and (7-58):

- (7-57) *Jema nge be-kune-n dih kin bohong.*
 person already MID.PL-ask very DAT k.o.sweet
 'People are asking for *bohong*.' (*mungune* 'ask')
- (7-58) *Nge be-jerang-an si be-beru je-jep umah bèwèn=é.*
 already MID.PL-cook REL RED-girl RED-each house all=3.POSS
 'All the girls are cooking (in) each (of their) houses.' (Hazeu 1907:204)

The circumfix *ber-...-(n)en* can attach to nominal bases that occur in 'use N' derivations marked by the middle prefix *ber-* (§7.2). Examples of this were rare in the corpus. (7-59) is an example:

- (7-59) *Bèwèn=é nge be-payung-en.*
 all=3.POSS already MID.PL-umbrella
 'Everybody is using an umbrella.' (*be-payung* 'use an umbrella';
payung 'umbrella')

Weather verbs (§5.2.3) can also take this circumfix:

- (7-60) *Kekanak=a nge mèh ber-uren-en.*
 child=that already finished MID.PL-rain
 'Those children are completely soaked from going out in the rain.'

Derivations marked by *ber-...-(n)en* can contain reduplicated bases, signalling the meanings described in §3.5.3. However, with certain bases, *ber-...-(n)en* derives verbs with reciprocal meanings when the base is reduplicated. Examples include *ber-ilih-ilih-en* 'spit at each other' (*mun-ilih* 'spit'), *be-te-tulak-an* 'push each other', and *ber-ilet-ilet-en* 'deceive each other' (*mun-ilet* 'lie, deceive'). Consider examples (7-61) and (7-62):

- (7-61) *Bèwèn=é ber-ilih-ilih-en.*
 all=3.POSS MID.PL-RED-spit
 'Everyone is spitting at each other.' (*mun-ilih* 'spit')
- (7-62) *Enti be-te-tulak-an i geniring ni lô.*
 don't MID-RED-push LOC edge POSS lake
 'Don't go pushing each other by the edge of the lake.' (*i-tulak* 'push')

7.4 Intransitive prefix/infix: *mu-/em-*

The prefix *mu-* conveys a number of distinct meanings which are difficult to reconcile. Common to all *mu-/em-* derivations is the fact that they are all intransitive, but they may convey either non-controlled or controlled meanings, depending on the category and semantics of the base to which they are attached. Accordingly, in this section I refer to the non-controlled and controlled varieties of *mu-/em-*, as Durie (1985) treats the cognate prefix *meu-* in Acehnese.

The prefix *mu-* has a variant infix form *-em-*. The distribution of *-em-* is lexically determined, although there are a number of generalisations that can be made about roots that take the infix. The infix attaches to a restricted number of core vocabulary items denoting certain kinds of physical motion, and are formally distinguished by the fact that they are disyllabic roots that have an initial alveolar or palatal obstruent. Evidence that *-em-* is a variant of *mu-* is evident by the fact that many of the verbs that are infix in the Bukit dialect are prefixed in the Cik dialect. Consider example (7-63):

(7-63)	Bukit	Cik	Meaning
	<i>t[em]erbang</i>	<i>mu-terbang</i>	'fly'
	<i>t[em]abur</i>	<i>mu-tabur</i>	'fly'
	<i>t[em]unuh</i>	<i>mu-tunuh</i>	'grow tired, fall asleep'
	<i>t[em]unung</i>	<i>mu-tunung</i>	'follow around'

The infix *-em-* is discussed in §7.4.3.

7.4.1 Controlled *mu-*

A large number of verb roots can be marked with the prefixed form of this morpheme. Such derivations can denote controlled actions, ingestion, and production of sounds. They can also denote performance of the act described by an ideophone. These meanings are described in the following sections.

7.4.1.1 *Controlled actions*

V-initial bases take the prefix *mu-* to mark controlled actions, typically translational motions. Examples include *m-èsot* 'move', *m-ayo* 'enter', *mu-gerak* 'move', *mu-sangka* 'run', *mu-toèt* 'stretch oneself (e.g. upon waking in the morning)', *mu-lumpet* 'jump, leap', *mu-gedèp* 'blink', *mu-sodok* 'crawl', and *mu-jorol* 'slither'. Consider examples (7-64) to (7-66):

- (7-64) *M-èsot pora abang Gajah=ni.*
INTR-move a.little older.brother elephant=this
'Brother Elephant moved a little.' (Pelanuk)
- (7-65) *Lipé nge mu-jorol ku kute.*
snake already INTR-slither to village
'The snake has slithered to the village.' (IK:40)
- (7-66) *Rui m-ayo ku wan kiding.*
thorn INTR-enter to inside:POSS foot
'A thorn entered (my) foot.'

A number of verb roots can be prefixed with either the controlled *mu-* prefix, or with the actor prefix, conveying similar meanings. Examples include *mu-karô* 'go hunting' (*mungarô* 'hunt'), *mu-pinah* 'move' (*muminah* 'move'), *mu-pencér* 'spring' (*mumencér* 'rise (of sun)'):

- (7-67) *Si mu-karô pè dekat ku ton oya sine.*
REL INTR-hunt also/even near to place that earlier
'The ones who were hunting were close to that place.' (IK:49)
- (7-68) *Uéh mu-pencér ari luang-luang ni bur.*
water INTR-spring from RED-hole POSS mountain
'Water was springing out for the holes in the mountain.' (IK:41)

7.4.1.2 *Acts of ingestion*

A small number of verbs formed with the controlled action prefix *mu-* denote acts of ingestion. Examples include *m-inum* 'drink', *m-angas* 'chew betel', *m-ungus* 'chew sugarcane', and *mu-jéng* 'eat the mid-morning meal' (*jéng* 'spicy hot'). Consider examples (7-69) and (7-70):

- (7-69) *M-angas mulo aku boh!*
INTR-chew.betel first 1 HORT
'I'll just chew betel first, all right!'
- (7-70) *Keta beluh mi ko m-ungus ku wan empus so.*
then go SOF 2 INTR-chew.sugarcane to inside:POSS garden yon
'Then go and chew sugarcane down there in the garden.' (SLG:58)
- (7-71) *Boh m-inum se-sire be-cerak.*
HORT INTR-drink RED-while MID-talk
'Let's drink while talking.'

The verb *m-inum* 'drink' can occur with an optional incorporated noun that specifies an undergoer participant. Incorporation is discussed in §6.1. (7-72) is an example:

- (7-72) *Wè gati m-inum kupi.*
 3 often INTR-drink coffee
 'He often drinks coffee.'

7.4.1.3 Producing sounds or speaking

The prefix *mu-* marks bound verb roots referring to the production of sounds. Examples include *mu-ling* 'make noise, make a sound', *mu-tuk* 'call out', *mu-sarik* 'scream, shriek', *mu-talu* 'call out' and *mu-sôt* 'answer'. Consider examples (7-73) and (7-74):

- (7-73) *Imo mu-tuk i pucuk ni bur.*
 k.o.ape INTR-call LOC peak POSS mountain
 'An *imo* was calling out at the peak of the mountain.' (IK:119)
- (7-74) *Inen Mayak gère mera mu-sôt.*
 Inen Mayak not want INTR-answer
 'Inen Mayak wouldn't answer.' (IK:87)

7.4.1.4 Ideophones

Ideophones in Gayo have distinct phonological characteristics. They are often reduplicated roots, and tend to contain extrasystemic phonology. For example, often the vowels in ideophones are nasal, such as in *mu-hi-hé* [muhĩhẽ] 'neigh (of a horse)'. Ideophones describe sounds, emotions, and movements. In Gayo, ideophones are bound verbs that function as predicates with the intransitive prefix *mu-*. In this section, two types of ideophones are distinguished: onomatopoeia and movements.

Some onomatopoeia are prefixed with *mu-* to form derivations that specify the act of producing a sound, e.g. *mu-cit* 'screech (of a mouse)', *m-oyong* 'bark (of a dog)', *mu-nemèk* 'bleat (of a goat)', *mu-kèok* 'cluck (of a chicken)', *mu-nowé* 'make the sound of a buffalo', *mu-janggerlak* 'clack (sound of a powder mill)', and *mu-beltak* 'make a loud banging sound'. Consider examples (7-75) to (7-77):

- (7-75) *Kaming mu-nemèk.*
 goat INTR-bleat
 'Goats bleat.'
- (7-76) *Asu m-oyong.*
 dog INTR-bark
 'The dog is barking.'
- (7-77) *Jingki-roda pè nge mu-janggerlak.*
 mill-wheel also/even already INTR-clack
 'The powder mill was clacking away.' (IK:114)

Other ideophones denote movements. Examples include *mu-gerèpèl* 'wriggle like a worm in the hot sun or like a fish out of water', *mu-gerupul* 'writhing of a chicken after being slain; struggle to get loose from a trap', *mu-gerèsèk* 'writhing of a fish caught in a trap', and *mu-gerosok* 'flee in a panic (a frightened mouse fleeing from danger)'.

7.4.2 Non-controlled *mu-*7.4.2.1 Non-controlled *mu-* with verbal bases

When *mu-* is attached to resultative verb bases (§4.3.1) it can signal that the act was carried out unintentionally or without any control. This is demonstrated in (7-78) and (7-79):

- (7-78) *Gëre mu-kunah ike nge mu-tutup.*
not INTR-problem if already INTR-closed
'It doesn't matter if it (the door) closes (by the wind).' (*tutup* 'close')

- (7-79) *Mu-kunul aku mumengé këber=é.*
INTR-sit I AO:hear news=3.POSS
'I fell onto my backside when I heard his news.' (*kunul* 'sit')
(Melalatoa 1982:189)

Attached to stative verb roots, *mu-* signals inchoative meanings, i.e. 'become [state]'. Examples include *m-ilang* 'light up; become red' (*ilang* 'red'), *mu-kôl* 'grow, get bigger' (*kôl* 'big'), *mu-tue* 'grow old' (*tue* 'old'), *mu-jeroh* 'get better' (*jeroh* 'good'), *mu-pesam* 'get warmer' (*pesam* 'warm'):

- (7-80) *Mu-tue mu-jeroh.*
INTR-old INTR-good
'(When you) get older, (you) get better.'
- (7-81) *Lagu mu-pesam le ku-rasa uéh=ni.*
way INTR-warm FOC UO.1-feel water=this
'It feels like this water is getting warmer.'

This meaning is also expressed with bases represented by quantifiers and numerals, e.g. *mu-delé* 'become many, multiply' (*delé* 'many'), *mu-sara* 'unite, become one' (*sara* 'one'), and *mu-tulu* 'become three' (*tulu* 'three'). Consider examples (7-82) and (7-83):

- (7-82) *Reta mu-delé.*
wealth INTR-much
'(My) wealth is growing.'
- (7-83) *Mu-nge ni buet kerna pakat mu-sara.*
INTR-already POSS work because group INTR-one
'The work got done because the group was united.' (IK:125)

A number of bound intransitive verb roots that specify inherently uncontrolled states of affairs are linked to the prefix *mu-*. Examples include *mu-tuh* 'fall', *mu-luah* 'fall off, become loose', *mu-doyak* 'spill', *mu-serdol* 'dribble', *mu-lapé* 'be hungry', *mu-siu* 'boil', and *mu-siut* 'burn'. Consider examples (7-84) and (7-85):

- (7-84) *Mu-serdol ungi=mu uén!*
INTR-dribble snot=2.POSS boy
'Your nose is running boy!'
- (7-85) *Enti rap ku rara=wa, kasè mu-siut.*
don't near to fire=that later INTR-burn
'Don't get too close to that fire, (you) will get burnt.' (Métun)

Non-controlled *mu-* derivations can also specify acts of excretion. In these constructions, the base is represented by a bound root that is formally identical to the nouns that denote the entity that is excreted. The status of these roots as verbs is discussed in §4.3.2. Examples include *mu-rayoh* 'bleed' (*rayoh* 'blood' (N)), *m-icing* 'defecate' (*icing* 'faeces' (N)), *m-alak* 'sweat' (*alak* 'sweat' (N)), *m-ungi* 'have a running nose' (*ungi* 'nasal mucus' (N)), and *m-anak* 'give birth (of an animal)' (*anak* 'offspring' (N)).

- (7-86) *Kekanak=a m-icing ku si kenak=é.*
 child=that INTR-defecate to where desire:3.POSS
 'That child shits wherever he feels like.'

- (7-87) *Sana kati ipon=mu mu-rayoh?*
 what so.that tooth=2.POSS INTR-blood
 'Why are your teeth bleeding?' (IK:68)

Some verbs of excretion do not have parallel nominal counterparts. Examples include *mu-torop* 'burp' and *mu-seldi* 'hiccup':

- (7-88) *Mu-torop mari mangan kemali.*
 INTR-burp stop AO:eat taboo
 'Burping after eating is a taboo (i.e. in Gayo custom).'

Non-controlled *mu-* derivations also denote acts where a subject with inanimate reference denotes the 'production' of the nominal base. Examples include *mu-jelobok* 'be steaming' (*jelobok* 'steam'), *m-asap* 'be smoking' (*asap* 'smoke'), and *mu-gelumang* 'have waves, be wavy (of water)' (*gelumang* 'wave'). Consider examples (7-89) and (7-90):

- (7-89) *Pe-cengang mata=é ku lôl si tengah mu-gelumang*
 T.TEXT-stare eye=3.POSS to lake REL CONT INTR-wave
urum kuyu keras.
 with wind rough
 'His eyes stared at the lake, which had waves in the rough wind.' (IK:141)

- (7-90) *Sara pingan petukel porak tengah m-asap-asap.*
 one plate pumpkin hot CONT INTR-RED-smoke
 'One plate of pumpkin was smoking away.' (IK:208)

Mu- can attach to certain transitive roots to derive intransitive verbs specifying accidental or uncontrolled acts in which the single participant is affected. Examples include *mu-tekar* 'fall out' (*i-tekar* 'discard'), *mu-rèbèk* 'get torn' (*i-rèbèk* 'tear'), *m-uke* 'open' (*i-uke* 'open'), and *mu-sengkelit* 'trip over one's own feet' (*i-sengkelit* 'trip (someone)'). Consider examples (7-91) and (7-92):

- (7-91) *Mu-tekar ine=é, ama=é, bèwèn=é ari*
 INTR-discard mother=3.POSS father=3.POSS all=3.POSS from
atan perau=ne.
 top:POSS boat=earlier
 'Their mother and father, all of them fell out of the boat.' (SLG:46)

- (7-92) *Kiding=é mu-sengkelit ku tali.*
 foot=3.POSS INTR-trip to rope
 'His feet tripped on the rope.' (Melalatoa 1982:340)

7.4.2.2 Nominal bases: verbal possession

With nominal bases, *mu-* signals that the referent of the subject 'possesses' the entity referred to by the base. Consider examples (7-93) and (7-94):

- (7-93) *Wè gère nè m-ine, gère nè m-ama.*
 3 not anymore INTR-mother not anymore INTR-father
 'He didn't have a mother or a father anymore.'

- (7-94) *Wè pè ara mu-pèng.*
 3 also/even EXIST INTR-money
 'He did have some money.' (IK:135)

In these constructions the possessor can be inanimate. Consider examples (7-95) and (7-96):

- (7-95) *Patal-patal si mu-kerpé nge dabuh i-tebes-i.*
 RED-bund REL INTR-grass already begin UO-slash-LOC
 'The bunds (that are covered) with grass have started getting slashed.'
 (*kerpé* 'grass') (IK:187)

- (7-96) *Oya gère mu-arti.*
 that not INTR-meaning
 'That doesn't mean anything.' (lit. 'That doesn't have a meaning.')

As with *ber-* derivations that contain nominal bases (§7.2), *mu-* can attach to compounds (7-97), or complex NPs (7-98):

- (7-97) *Aka gère mu-pong nomé.*
 older.sister not INTR-friend lie.down
 'Older sister doesn't have a friend to sleep with (lit. a sleeping friend).'

- (7-98) *Masing-masing rēje ara mu-peraturen si nge biasa*
 each king EXIST INTR-custom REL already usual
turun-t[em]urun.
 descend-[INTR-descend]
 'Each king has customs which are usually handed down.' (IK:110)

7.4.3 Infixated variant: -em-

Verb roots that take the infixated variant of the intransitive affix *mu-* are limited in number, and are characterised by the fact that all of them are bound roots with two syllables, and have an initial *t*, *c*, or *r*. Examples include *t[em]enep* 'hide oneself', *t[em]etap* 'persist', *t[em]unung* 'follow around', *t[em]erbang* 'fly', *r[em]alan* 'walk', *t[em]uni* 'hide (oneself)', and *c[em]engkung* 'squat'. Verbs infixated with *-em-* typically denote 'translational motions' (Talmy 1985; Kemmer 1993). Kemmer (1993:18) characterises translational motion as a 'self induced motion of an animate entity along a path in space ... often includ[ing] verbs of going, coming, walking, flying, running, and leaping'. Consider examples (7-99) to (7-101):

- (7-99) ... *Lagu kalang pepot tengah t[em]erbang.*
 way firefly CONT INTR-fly
 '... Like a firefly flying.' (Métun)

- (7-100) *Mungkén kasè paké=a t[em]uni i sonè.*
 maybe later 3.PL=that INTR-hide LOC there
 'Perhaps later they will hide over there.' (IK:65)
- (7-101) *Iring ni gajah kôl-kucak tengah r[em]alan.*
 line POSS elephant big-small CONT INTR-walk
 'A line of elephants, big and small, was walking.' (IK:49)

One verb derived with *-em-*, *t[em]unuh* 'fall asleep', specifies an uncontrolled act:

- (7-102) *I Takengen mèh megerip, renyel t[em]unuh.*
 LOC Takengon finished dusk.prayer then INTR-fall.asleep
 'In Takengon, (once) the dusk prayer is finished, (we) then fall asleep.'
 (Melalatoa 1982:413)

7.5 Temporal extension prefix: *per-*

The prefix *per-* attaches to verbal bases to form verbs that denote habitual or durative events, or persistent states. As such, it can be termed a 'temporal extension' prefix. *Per-*derivations can often be translated as nouns in English. However, they clearly fulfil the morphosyntactic criteria for the category of verbs (§4.3): They cannot function as arguments of verbal predicates, and they are negated by the verbal negator *gère* (§13.4.1). Thus, while remaining grammatically verbal, semantically *per-* signals a high degree of temporal stability, a feature more typical of nouns (Givon 1979). The meanings signalled by *per-* are outlined in the following sections.

7.5.1 'be intrinsically V'

With stative verb bases, *per-* signals that the state is persistent or intensified. Examples include *pe-belangi* 'always/very beautiful' (*belangi* 'beautiful'), *pe-teréh* 'always/very afraid' (*teréh* 'afraid'), *pe-kemèl* 'always/very shy' (*kemèl* 'shy'), and *pe-kelit* 'always/very stingy' (*kelit* 'stingy'):

- (7-103) *Kèdah-n=é so wè paling bep pedahan pe-teréh.*
 seem-NOM=3.POSS yon 3 most strong whereas T.TEXT-afraid
 'He seems to be very mighty, whereas he is (in fact) a coward.'

7.5.2 Durative/habitual meanings

With certain resultative intransitive verbs, *per-* derives verbs with durative meanings. For example, *pe-kunul* 'sit for a while' (*kunul* 'sit') and *pe-sesuk* 'stand around' (*sesuk* 'stand'):

- (7-104) *Sine kami-èngon ko pe-kunul, mongot.*
 earlier UO.I.EXCL-see 2 T.TEXT-sit AO:weep
 'Before we saw you sitting around weeping.' (IK:37)
- (7-105) *Wè galip pe-sesuk.*
 3 busy T.TEXT-stand
 'He is busy standing around.'

With bound intransitive bases, two possible meanings are conveyed. With bases that usually take the controlled action prefix/infix *mu-/em-* (§7.4.3), a habitual meaning is conveyed. Examples include *per-angas* ‘be constantly chewing betel’ (*m-angas* ‘chew betel’), *per-oncos* ‘be habitually urinating’ (*m-oncos* ‘urinate’), and *per-icing* ‘be habitually shitting’ (*m-icing* ‘defecate’):

- (7-106) *Wè tukang per-icing.*
 3 expert T.TEXT-defecate
 ‘He is always defecating.’ (lit. ‘He is an expert shitter.’)

With intransitive bases that typically function as predicates with the actor prefix *mun-* (§7.1.1), *per-* derives verbs with durative meanings. Examples include *pe-daté* ‘watch for a while’ (*mu-daté* ‘watch’) and *pe-nomé* ‘lie down for a while’ (*munomé* ‘lie down’):

- (7-107) *Mejen-mejen pe-daté ku be-beru si tengah munuling=a.*
 RED-sometimes T.TEXT-watch to RED-girl REL CONT AO:harvest=that
 ‘Sometimes (he) watched the girls harvesting.’ (IK:120)

Per- forms intransitive verbs from transitive bases, signalling that the participant habitually performs the act described by the verb. It can also signal that performing that act is a characteristic of the participant. Examples include *pe-tirô* ‘always be asking for things’ (*i-tirô* ‘request’), *per-ôsôh* ‘always be stealing, be a thief’ (*i-ôsôh* ‘steal’), and *pe-tunung* ‘always be following (people) around’ (*i-tunung* ‘follow’):

- (7-108) *Wè jema pe-tunung.*
 3 person T.TEXT-follow
 ‘He is always following people around.’
- (7-109) *Per-ôsôh pedih wè.*
 T.TEXT-steal very 3
 ‘He steals a lot.’

7.5.3 *Pe-loah* ‘vomit’

The base in the derivation *pe-loah* ‘vomit’ always takes the prefix *per-* in intransitive predicates. Unlike other derivations with this prefix, it denotes a single occurrence of the act of vomiting, and not a habitual or durative action:

- (7-110) *Malè-malè pe-loah gëre jadi.*
 RED-will T.TEXT-vomit not happen
 ‘(He) was on the verge of vomiting, it didn’t happen.’ (IK:210)

A durative meaning is possible if the verb is preceded by the verb *galép* ‘be busy’ in a serial-verb construction:

- (7-111) *Wè galép pe-loah.*
 3 busy T.TEXT-vomit
 ‘He is busy vomiting.’

7.5.4 *Reduplicated verb bases*

With reduplicated bases, *per-* signals that an act is durative or repetitive. With bound intransitive verb bases, a durative meaning is signalled. Note that with reduplicated V-initial bases, *per-* is realised as *p-* (§2.3.1.1.1):

- (7-112) *Gulé-gulé kucak delé p-awé-awé i sonè.*
 RED-fish small many T.EXT-RED-swim LOC there
 'Many small fish are swimming around there.' (*mun-awé* 'swim') (IK:66)
- (7-113) *Aku pe-ne-nanti ari oya=wa mi.*
 1 T.EXT-RED-wait from that=that more
 'I have been waiting around from earlier onwards.' (*mu-nanti* 'wait') (IK:193)

With reduplicated transitive verb bases, *per-* derives intransitive verbs denoting repetitive acts:

- (7-114) *Wè p-ôsôh-ôsôh.*
 3 T.EXT-RED-steal
 'He goes around pinching things.' (*i-ôsôh* 'steal')

Derivations consisting of *per-* and a reduplicated verbal base denoting a sound convey a notion of repetition:

- (7-115) *Anak ni kurik pe-ciak-ciak.*
 offspring POSS chicken HAB-RED-cheep
 'The baby chickens are cheeping away.' (SLG:102)

Reduplicated transitive verb bases prefixed with *per-* can take incorporated nouns denoting undergoer participants:

- (7-116) *Ara si pe-congkèl-congkèl rui ari tapak=é.*
 EXIST REL T.EXT-RED-get.out thorn from foot=3.POSS
 'There were some who were taking thorns out of their feet.' (IK:52)

Reduplicated forms are described in detail in §3.5.

7.6 Reciprocal circumfix: *bersi-...-(n)en*

The circumfix *bersi-...-(n)en* signals that an action is reciprocal. The verb takes a single argument, a subject, that specifies a group of two or more people or things. The circumfix is typically attached to transitive bases. Examples include *bersi-èngon-en* 'look at each other' (*i-èngon* 'see'), *bersi-tipak-an* 'stare at each other' (*i-tipak* 'kick'), and *bersi-éwét-en* 'mock each other' (*i-éwét* 'mock'). Consider example (7-117):

- (7-117) *Bersi-tipak-an paké=a.*
 RECIP-kick 3.PL=that
 'They kicked each other.'

This circumfix can be attached to intransitive verbs that typically involve more than one participant. This involves oblique argument-taking intransitive verbs (§5.2.4.2), e.g. *bersi-kemèl-en* 'be shy of each other' (*kemèl* 'shy (of)'), *bersi-bengis-en* 'be angry with each other' (*mumongot* 'weep'). Consider example (7-118):

- (7-118) *Bersi-bengis-en paké=a.*
 RECIP-angry 3.PL=that
 'They are angry with each other.'

It also occurs with intransitive verbs that specify states of affairs typically involving more than one participant. Examples include *bersi-gép-en* 'be far from each other' (*gép* 'far') and *bersi-cerak-an* 'talk with each other' (*be-cerak* 'talk'). Consider (7-119) and (7-120):

(7-119) *Ues atè=ngku ike bersi-gép-en.*

sad liver=1.POSS if RECIP-far

'I am sad when we are far from each another.'

(7-120) *Gère ngók kite bersi-cerak-an urum banan ni jema.*

not can we.INCL RECIP-talk with woman POSS person

'We shouldn't talk with somebody else's wife.' (Linge)

The base in the derivation *bersi-turé-n* 'get acquainted with each other' does not occur on its own or with any other affix:⁵

(7-121) *I sonè baru bersi-turé-n sabé diri=é.*

LOC there then RECIP-acquaint among self=3.POSS

'At that place they then got acquainted with each other.'

The circumfix *bersi-...-(n)en* can also be attached to bases denoting ingestion (§7.4.1.2), again signalling multiplicity of participants, and implying 'socialising with each other'. Examples include *bersi-angas-an* 'chew betelnut together' (*m-angas* 'chew betel') and *bers-inum-en* 'drink together' (*m-inum* 'drink').

7.7 Adversative circumfix: *ke-...-(n)en*

The adversative circumfix *ke-...-(n)en* can attach to stative verbs and some nouns to form intransitive verbs that denote a state which adversely affects a human participant. The resulting forms convey a notion of intensity. The prefixed element *ke-* is often deleted in casual speech, as in (7-122):⁶

(7-122) *Punce ke-porak-an. = Punce porak-an.*

Punce ADVERS-hot Punce hot-ADVERS

'Punce feels very hot.'

Examples of derivations containing with this circumfix include *ke-sejuk-en* 'be very cold' (*sejuk* 'cold'), *ke-gerah-an* 'very thirsty' (*gerah* 'thirsty'), *ke-kemuh-en* 'feel very hot' (*kemuh* 'hot (of body)'), *ke-pening-en* 'very dizzy' (*pening* 'dizzy'), and *ke-tèron-en* 'lethargic, tired' (*tèron* 'lethargic, tired'):

(7-123) *Ke-gerah-an aku.*

thirsty-ADVERS 1

'I'm very thirsty.'

(7-124) *Nge hèk-en wè.*

already tired-ADVERS 3

'He is very tired.'

⁵ Acehnese: (*meu-*)*turi* 'get acquainted'

⁶ Woollams (1996) distinguishes two parallel affixes in Karo Batak, *ke-en* 'to be adversely affected by the referent of the stem' and *-en* 'to be affected by the referent of the stem'. There is no evidence in Gayo that two affixes (i.e. *ke-...-(n)en* and *-(n)en*) are separate morphemes. Affixed pairs with the same base yield identical meanings.

With nouns, a meaning of ‘to be afflicted with’ can be derived. For example, *ke-cerét-en* ‘be afflicted with diarrhoea’ (*cerét* ‘diarrhoea’) and *ke-kètòl-en* ‘be afflicted with worms’ (*kètòl* ‘worm’).

8 Voice

Gayo is typical of western Austronesian languages in that it features a phenomenon variously called voice, focus, or orientation. There are three voice affixes in Gayo: *i-* undergoer orientation, *mun-* actor orientation, and *ter-* decontrol undergoer orientation. The undergoer prefix *i-* and the actor prefix *mun-* attach to transitive verbs, signalling the semantic macrorole of the subject NP, and in some cases information about lexical aspect. The prefix *ter-* signals that the subject is an undergoer, as well as that the act described by the verb is unintentional or impossible to carry out. Transitive predicates take either two direct arguments (monotransitive) or three direct arguments (ditransitive). There are three voices in Gayo, none of which can be considered the unmarked or basic voice, i.e. they are in equipollent opposition. The voice affixes are given in Table 8-1.

Table 8-1: Voice prefixes

<i>i-</i>	undergoer prefix (§8.2)
<i>mun-</i>	actor prefix (§8.3)
<i>ter-</i>	decontrol undergoer prefix (§8.5)

The prefixes *mun-* and *i-* signal the macrorole status of a subject argument. Undergoer-oriented predicates are typically transitive, but can be intransitive when they take an oblique undergoer-complement. Actor-oriented predicates involve two participants, an actor and an undergoer, and can be either transitive or intransitive. The syntactic transitivity of the clause is dependent on the individuation of the undergoer participant. In Gayo, only individuated undergoers can have the status of arguments. The prefix *i-* signals the undergoer status of a subject NP. In such clauses the undergoer has individuated reference, and is typically marked by a determiner. Consider example (8-1):

- (8-1) *I-tos=è penan=ne.*
 UO-make=3.N. SUBJ cake=earlier
 'She made the cake'

The actor prefix, on the other hand, can have a detransitivising function, forming intransitive verbs from transitive roots. These intransitive derivations denote controlled imperfective events, in which the undergoer either is expressed as an incorporated noun or is implied. With intransitive roots, an undergoer can have argument status only if the root is marked by a valence-increasing affix. Like other intransitive clauses, the position of the subject in intransitive actor-oriented clauses is free, i.e. it can either precede or follow its predicate. Intransitive actor-oriented predicates are discussed in detail in §7.1. In example

(8-2) a transitive root is marked by the prefix *mun-*, forming an intransitive verb. The resulting affixed word specifies a controlled, imperfective action with a non-individuated undergoer:

- (8-2) *Munos penan wè.*
 AO:make cake 3
 'She is making cakes/*the cake'

The distinction in syntactic transitivity associated with actor and undergoer orientation is revealed in imperative constructions, where the individuation of the undergoer determines the orientation of the predicate. Two-participant imperative clauses with non-individuated undergoers are actor-oriented, as in example (8-3); and clauses with an individuated undergoer are undergoer-oriented, as in example (8-4):

- (8-3) *Mangan penan renyel!*
 AO:eat cake then
 'Eat cakes!'
- (8-4) *I-pangan renyel penan=ni.*
 UO-eat then cake=this
 'Eat these cakes!'

An imperative clause with two syntactic arguments, i.e. with an individuated undergoer, cannot be actor-oriented:

- (8-5) **Mangan renyel awal=ni!*
 AO:eat then banana=this
 ('Eat these bananas up!')

At the level of discourse, voice selection is frequently determined by factors of discourse continuity and prominence, with the most topical argument being cast as an ellipsed subject in a series of clauses (Donohue 2002). Another factor that has been cited as influencing voice selection in western Austronesian is foregrounding/backgrounding (Hopper 1979), a function which is closely related to aspect and undergoer individuation.

8.1 Voice and grammatical relations

The symmetrical voice systems of western Austronesian languages such as Gayo differ in a number of significant ways from asymmetrical, i.e. nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive, voice systems. Firstly, the notion of symmetrical voice defies the notion of voice as a valence-reducing operation. For example, Dixon and Aikhenvald (1997:72) define voice as 'removing an argument from the (inner) core, and placing it in the periphery'. In Gayo, neither actor nor undergoer orientation can be considered the basic or unmarked voice alignment. Undergoer orientation cannot be considered a passive. Both undergoer- and actor-oriented verbs feature a voice affix, and are thus equally marked in terms of their morphology. Also, undergoer orientation does not involve the demotion of an argument to adjunct status. Furthermore, undergoer-oriented predicates in Gayo are statistically more frequent than the actor-oriented predicates in an analysis of texts, conflicting with the notion of passive as being a marked construction in terms of frequency in discourse. The preference for undergoer orientation is a feature typical of undergoer orientation in western Austronesian languages (Wouk 1984; Woollams 1996). Gayo

clauses containing undergoer-oriented predicates are somewhat less morphologically marked than actor-oriented predicates in the sense that the prefix *i-* is often dropped in discourse with second and third person actors.

It has been argued in studies of related languages that the preference for undergoer orientation in discourse and the absence of affixation in undergoer voice paradigms provide evidence of ergativity in certain western Austronesian languages (e.g. Cartier 1979; Dubois 1987). Artawa and Blake (1997) have argued for an ergative analysis of Balinese based on the fact that undergoer-oriented predicates are unaffixed (unlike Gayo), as are intransitive predicates; while in contrast, actor-oriented predicates bear a nasal prefix. However, like actor-oriented predicates, undergoer-oriented predicates in Gayo are affixed, and cannot be considered the basic alignment. As both actor- and undergoer-oriented predicates are morphologically marked, and neither alignment is indicative of a reduction in valence, identifying accusativity or ergativity does not appear to be a relevant question for this language.

A given voice alignment in Gayo is not indicative of transitivity, which means that voice in this language contrasts with primarily syntactically motivated explanations for voice. Rather, voice affixation signals the semantic macrorole of the subject argument in a clause that involves two semantic participants, which in the case of actor orientation may or may not be realised as a grammatical argument (cf. Clynes 1995 for Balinese). The term 'voice' is employed here in its most general sense as identifying the macrorole of a subject NP. However, undergoer-oriented predicates sometimes take an undergoer that is realised as an oblique complement. For example, in (8-6) both predicates bear the prefix *i-*. However, example (8-6a) contains a transitive clause, while (8-6b) contains an intransitive clause with an oblique undergoer:

- (8-6) a. *I-èngon=è be-bujang=ne.*
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ RED-boy=earlier
 'He saw the boy.'
- b. *I-èngon=è kin pelangkahan.*
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ DAT plan
 'He looked at the plan.' (Depik)

The actor prefix *mun-* marks intransitive predicates, signalling that the subject is an actor. The undergoer in intransitive actor-oriented clauses is non-individuated, and is either implied, or overtly represented as an incorporated noun. The prefix *mun-* also marks a range of intransitive verbs with implied reflexive or generic undergoers that are not represented overtly, e.g. *munomé* 'lie (oneself) down', *muniri* 'bathe (oneself)'; *mungaró* 'hunt (game)', *mun-ilih* 'spit (saliva)'. Furthermore, the prefix *mun-* is attached productively to nouns to derive intransitive verbs with undergoers that are implied by the meaning of the nominal base of the derivation, e.g. *mungëber* 'tell news' (*këber* 'news' (N)) and *munesop* 'make soup' (*sop* 'soup' (N)). The fact that a given voice alignment cross-cuts syntactic transitivity status reflects the unique nature of symmetrical voice in western Austronesian languages.

In many western Austronesian languages, actor-orientated predicates are syntactically intransitive, a fact which has led to split-S or split intransitive analyses for these languages, i.e. the availability of two or more constructional patterns for intransitive verbal clauses in a given language. Typical splits pertain to semantic factors of dynamicity and stativity, or intention and non-intention. Clynes (1995) and Arka (1998) argue that Balinese displays split intransitive properties based on the fact that intransitive predicates differ with regard

to their morphological marking: some are prefixed with *N-* or *ma-*, others remain unmarked. Indeed, intransitive predicates in Gayo marked by *mun-* are contrasted with unaffixed stative/resultative predicates, as well as other predicates bearing various intransitive affixes that signal semantic information about the event described by the verb. Himmelmann (2004) questions the typological usefulness of the notion of split intransitivity for western Austronesian languages such as Balinese, as morphological or syntactic contrasts between dynamic and stative intransitives are common to most languages. Nevertheless, he remarks that ‘the distinction between dynamic and stative predicates is of fundamental importance to the grammar of most western Austronesian languages’ (Himmelmann 2004:140).

In summary, voice alignment in Gayo is symmetrical. Neither actor nor undergoer orientation can be considered the more basic or unmarked alignment. Voice marking in Gayo specifies the orientation of participants in the event described by the verb, regardless of the syntactic transitivity of the clause. The individual voice orientations are described in the following sections.

8.2 Undergoer orientation: *i-*

The prefix *i-* forms undergoer-oriented verbs. The subject in an undergoer-oriented clause is typically expressed as an NP and less frequently as a PP. This prefix differs from other affixes in Gayo by the fact that it is replaced by a pronominal form when the verb takes a first person non-subject argument, and also by the fact that the prefix is often dropped in casual speech, and almost always in imperative constructions (§13.1). Other verbal affixes such as *mun-* and *ter-* cannot be dropped. The paradigm for the undergoer affixes is given in Table 8-2.

Table 8-2: Structure of undergoer-oriented VPs

Actor argument		Structure of VP
Sg.	1	<i>ku</i> -Verb
	2	<i>i</i> -V= <i>ko</i>
	3	<i>i</i> -V= <i>è</i> ¹
Pl.	1.INCL	<i>kite</i> -V
	1.EXCL	<i>kami</i> -V
	2	<i>i</i> -V= <i>kam</i>
	3	<i>i</i> -V= <i>è</i> / <i>i</i> -V <i>paké</i> = <i>a</i>

8.2.1 The syntax of undergoer-oriented clauses

Unlike actor-oriented clauses, undergoer-oriented clauses always contain two syntactic arguments. The undergoer prefix typically identifies the macrorole of a subject, but in some cases the undergoer is expressed as a dative (oblique) argument. Undergoer-oriented

¹ When =*è* is attached to verbs with a final *i*, the third person enclitic is realised as =*é*. When attached to verbs with a final *é*, it is realised as =*wé*.

predicates require an individuated undergoer participant, which is thus realised as a clausal argument. These features have been described for the corresponding 'passive' or 'undergoer-as-subject' predicates in Karo and Toba Batak (Woollams 1996; Wouk 1984). In examples (8-7) to (8-11) the undergoer is the clausal subject:

- (8-7) *I-geléh=è kôrô.*
 UO-slaughter=3.N.SUBJ buffalo
 'He slaughtered a buffalo.'
- (8-8) *I-kenal=è renyel akang.*
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ then deer
 'They then looked for some deer.' (Depik)
- (8-9) *I-baca=è buku.*
 UO-read=3.N.SUBJ book
 'She read a book.'
- (8-10) *Nge ku-pengé delé cerite ni urang Acéh.*
 already UO.1-hear many story POSS person Acehnese
 'I have heard many stories of the Acehnese (i.e. stories detailing Acehnese history).'
- (8-11) *Gëre inget=è nè dené tangkuh.*
 not UO:remember=3.N.SUBJ anymore way go.out
 'He didn't remember (i.e. forgot) the way out.' (IK:134)

Non-subject (actor) arguments can be left unspecified in an undergoer-oriented clauses. Such clauses are translated into English as agentless passives:

- (8-12) *Baru i-rai jema si tulu=ne ari wan kamar*
 then UO-fetch person REL three=earlier from inside:POSS room
tehenen.
 detainment
 'Then the three people were fetched from the holding cell.'
- (8-13) *Ike i-pancung pè kami, gëre mu-kunah.*
 if UO-behead also/even we.EXCL not INTR-problem
 'Even if we are beheaded, it doesn't matter.'

The undergoer in an undergoer-oriented clause can be expressed as a dative (oblique) argument. For example, (8-14a) contains an undergoer-oriented predicate that takes a subject NP referring to the participant that was affected by the act. In (8-14b), the verb takes a PP argument, signalling that the impact of the action is not known:

- (8-14) a. *I-dere=è kahè ko.*
 UO-strike=3.N.SUBJ later 2
 'They're going to hit you later on.'
- b. *I-dere-n=è ku ulu ni lipé=a.*
 UO-strike-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ to head POSS snake=that
 'He struck at the head of the snake.' (IK:49)

Transitive verbs of perception often take an oblique argument. Consider example (8-12), which contains a transitive verb of cognition. The argument status of the undergoer is evident by the fact that it can also be expressed as a bare NP, with a slightly different result in meaning:

- (8-15) a. *Sabi ku-inget ku Gayô.*
 always UO.1-remember to Gayo
 'I always think of Gayo.'
- b. *Sabi ku-inget Gayô.*
 always UO.1-remember Gayo
 'I always remember Gayo.'

A small number of transitive verbs can take three direct arguments. These verbs constitute the class of ditransitive verbs. The class is represented by the verbs *i-osah* 'give', *i-ëjer* 'teach' and *i-kirém* 'send'. Two other ditransitive verbs always take the causative suffix *-(n)en* (§9.3): *i-jurah-an* 'give, pass' and *i-turuh-en* 'show'. When all three participants of a ditransitive verb are expressed as direct arguments, the argument that specifies the goal precedes the theme if both arguments follow their predicate. Consider examples (8-16) and (8-17):

- (8-16) *Nge ku-osah anan bakô=a.*
 already UO.1-give grandmother tobacco=that
 'I have given grandmother the tobacco.'
- (8-17) *Nge ku-turuh-en ama gambar=ne.*
 already UO.1-show-CAUS1 father picture=earlier
 'I have shown father the picture.'

More commonly, though, the goal participant in a ditransitive clause is expressed as an oblique argument. Consider examples (8-18) to (8-20):

- (8-18) *I-osah=è sèn ku aku.*
 UO-give=3.N.SUBJ money to 1
 'She gave some money to me.'
- (8-19) *Ku-ëjer tulis-baca kahè ku ko.*
 UO.1-teach write-read later to 2
 'I will teach reading and writing to you later.'
- (8-20) *I-turuh-n=è parang=é ku aku.*
 UO-show-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ machete=3.POSS to 1
 'He showed his machete to me.'

The argument specifying the goal participant can be fronted before its predicate, as demonstrated in (8-21):

- (8-21) *Ko ku-ëjer basa Gayô.*
 2 UO.1-teach language Gayo
 'I will teach you Gayo.'

Ditransitive verbs can be actor-oriented, with the goal expressed as an oblique argument, as in (8-22), but not as a direct argument, as demonstrated in (8-23):

(8-22) *Aku nge mun-osah bakô=a ku anan.*
 1 already AO-give tobacco=that to grandmother
 'I have given the tobacco to grandmother.'

(8-23) **Aku nge mun-osah anan. bakô=a.*
 1 already AO-give grandmother tobacco=that
 ('I have given grandmother the tobacco.')

The goal can be expressed as a possessive phrase within a complex NP in actor-oriented ditransitive constructions:

(8-24) *Aku nge mun-osah bakô ni anan.*
 1 already AO-give tobacco=that POSS grandmother
 'I have given the tobacco to grandmother (lit. grandmother's tobacco).'

Verbs of 'putting' select three participants in their semantic structure, but are syntactically monotransitive, as the goal cannot be expressed as a direct argument. Examples include *i-paré-n* 'put, place' (*pari* 'situation (N)') and *i-bobo(h)-n* 'put' (*i-bôh* 'add'):

(8-25) a. *Nge ku-paré-n buku ku wan lemari.*
 already UO.1-put-CAUS1 book to inside:POSS cupboard
 'I have put the book into the cupboard.'

b. **Nge ku-paré-n lemari=ne buku.*
 already UO.1-put-CAUS1 cupboard=earlier book
 ('I have put the book in the cupboard.')

The goal and theme participants are often coded as a single NP argument. The goal is expressed as a possessive phrase modifying the head noun that specifies the theme. In such cases, the clause contains two syntactic arguments and the predicate can be either undergoer-oriented, as in (8-26), or actor-oriented, as in (8-27):

(8-26) *Nge ku-osah sên=é.*
 already UO.1-give money=3.POSS
 'I have given him some money.' (lit. 'I have given his money.')

(8-27) *Kedang bèwèn=mu ari bur so, mun-osah mangan*
 maybe all=2.POSS from mountain yon AO-give food
ni jema Muslimin.
 POSS person Muslim
 'Maybe all of you (have come) from that mountain, (having) given Muslims' food.' (lit. '... (having) given the food of the Muslims.') (IK:68)

8.2.2 Undergoer orientation and perfective aspect

Undergoer-oriented clauses with canonical word order (i.e. predicate-subject) are strongly associated with perfective aspect, in contrast with actor-oriented predicates, which typically have an imperfective reading. Consider the undergoer-oriented clause in example (8-28):

(8-28) *I-tipak=è asu=a.*
 UO-kick=3.N.SUBJ dog=that
 'He kicked that dog.'

This association with perfective aspect means that undergoer-oriented clauses with predicate-subject order cannot be modified by the continuous aspect marker *tengah* (§12.1.1):

- (8-29) **Tengah i-tos=è* *wu.*
 CONT UO-make=3.N.SUBJ fish.trap
 ('He is making a fish trap.')

In contrast, clauses in which the subject is fronted are neutral with regard to lexical aspect. This fact is demonstrated in example (8-30), which contains an undergoer-oriented clause with a fronted undergoer-subject. In this example, the continuous aspect marker *tengah* modifies the verb. Compare this with (8-28) and (8-29) above:

- (8-30) *Sara belang s[en]uen tengah i-pangan rara.*
 one field NOM-plant CONT UO-eat fire
 'An (entire) field of crops is being consumed by fire.' (IK:90)

This aspect-neutral reading also applies to clauses in which voice orientation identifies a subject that has been ellipsed in discourse or has been deleted in a clause-combining operation such as relativisation or equi-NP deletion. Example (8-31) contains a relative clause whose subject is an undergoer:

- (8-31) *ke-kulit si i-emah=è*
 RED-skin REL UO-carry=3.N.SUBJ
 'the buffalo skin he was carrying' (IK:129)

Example (8-32) contains an example of undergoer orientation in equi-NP deletion. The modal verb *mera* 'want' (§12.2.3) takes a complement whose subject is an equi-deleted undergoer:

- (8-32) *Wè gère mera i-pôtô ge?*
 3 not want UO-photograph TAG
 'He doesn't want to be photographed, does he?'

8.3 Actor orientation: *mun-*

The actor prefix *mun-* marks both intransitive and transitive predicates. Intransitive actor-oriented predicates specify an event involving a non-individuated undergoer. The event is controlled and intentional, and typically imperfective. Intransitive actor-oriented predicates based on noun and intransitive-verb roots were described in detail in §7.1. The syntax of intransitive and transitive actor-oriented predicates based on transitive verb roots is discussed in turn in the following sections.

8.3.1 Intransitive actor-oriented predicates

The actor prefix *mun-* forms intransitive verbs from nouns and both transitive and intransitive verb roots. The resulting affixed word refers to a controlled action, typically with an imperfective aspectual reading, and involving an implied generic or reflexive undergoer, or a non-individuated undergoer that is realised as an incorporated noun. In intransitive actor-oriented clauses the position of the subject in relation to its predicate is free. Words prefixed by *mun-* based on nouns and intransitive verb roots were described in

§7.1. *Mun-* also has a de-transitivising function, attaching to transitive roots to form intransitive predicates with implied generic undergoers. Such a feature is typical of actor orientation in western Austronesian languages. Example (8-33) contains actor-oriented verbs based on transitive roots (i.e. *-ôsoh* 'steal', *-tipu* 'deceive', *-unuh* 'kill'):

- (8-33) *Jema si biasa be-judi, mun-ôsoh, munipu, mun-unuh i*
 person REL usually MID-gamble AO-steal AO:lie AO-kill LOC
sonè muloi tobat.
 there begin repent
 'People who used to gamble, steal, lie, and kill, at that place they'll begin to repent.' (IK:42)

Attached to certain transitive verbs of cognition, e.g. *-inget* 'remember' and *-pengé* 'hear', *mun-* forms intransitive verbs whose stimulus is expressed as an oblique argument. Consider examples (8-34) and (8-35). In the following examples the subjects are in boldface.

- (8-34) ***Mun-inget** aku kin masa Jepang.*
 AO-remember I DAT era Japanese
 'I recall the era of the Japanese (occupation).'
- (8-35) ***Aku** munengé ku ling=é.*
 I AO:hear to voice=3.POSS
 'I was listening to what he said.' (lit. 'I was listening to his voice.')

Intransitive actor-oriented predicates based on transitive roots often involve a non-individuated undergoer participant, expressed as an incorporated noun. In example (8-36) the prefix derives an intransitive from the transitive root *-suen* 'plant'.

- (8-36) ***Munyuén** kepile kami i uken so.*
 AO:plant sweet.potato we.EXCL LOC upstream yon
 'We were planting sweet potatoes upstream.'

When an actor subject is not located after its predicate, an actor-oriented predicate can be either transitive or intransitive. The syntactic transitivity is determined by the individuation of the undergoer. Non-individuated undergoers are expressed as incorporated nouns, and individuated undergoers have argument status. The status of the noun as incorporated is determined from context and intonation. A combination of verb and incorporated noun constitutes a single phonological word. An incorporated noun cannot be modified by a determiner, and has non-individuated reference, as in (8-37a). In contrast, nouns with individuated reference are typically modified by a determiner. Example (8-37b) contains a clefted actor NP, and a non-subject undergoer NP:

- (8-37) a. ***Aku** munos wu.*
 I AO:make fish.trap
 Intransitive: 'I made fish traps/a fish trap.'
- b. ***Aku** (si) munos wu=ne.*
 I REL AO:make fish.trap=earlier
 Transitive: 'I (was the one who) made the fish trap.'

8.3.2 Transitive actor-oriented predicates

Actor-oriented predicates can take two direct arguments only when their subject is fronted or deleted for grammatical or discourse reasons, and not when the subject occurs in its canonical position, i.e. following the predicate. Example (8-38) contains a transitive actor-oriented predicate.

- (8-38) *Aku mun-emah=è.*
 1 AO:make=3.N.SUBJ
 'I made/am making it.' (SLG:28)

Transitive actor-oriented clauses cannot have predicate–subject order, as demonstrated in (8-39):

- (8-39) **Mun-emah=è aku.*
 AO:make=3.N.SUBJ 1
 ('I made/am making it.')

When ditransitive predicates are actor-oriented, the argument specifying the goal can be expressed as either a direct argument, as in (8-40); or an oblique argument, as in (8-41):

- (8-40) *Wè le si mun-osah anan bakô=a.*
 3 FOC REL AO-give grandmother tobacco=that
 'He is the one that gave the tobacco to grandmother.'
- (8-41) *Pawang mun-osah amanat ku pong=é si delé.*
 expert.hunter AO-give loyalty to friend=3.POSS REL many
 'The hunter gave his loyalty to his many friends.' (IK:46)

The paradigm of *mun-* marked predicates in transitive clauses is outlined in Table 8-3. Unlike undergoer orientation, where first person non-subjects are expressed as prefixed pronominal forms, all non-subject arguments in actor-oriented clauses are expressed as enclitics.

Table 8-3: Structure of actor-oriented VPs in transitive clauses

Undergoer argument		Structure of VP
Sg.	1	<i>mun-Verb=aku</i>
	2	<i>mun-V=ko</i>
	3	<i>mun-V=è</i>
Pl.	1.INCL	<i>mun-V=kite</i>
	1.EXCL	<i>mun-V=kami</i>
	2	<i>mun-V=kam</i>
	3	<i>mun-V=è /mun-V paké=a</i>

The actor prefix is used in transitive clauses when an actor argument is represented by an actor subject that precedes its predicate or is ellipsed. Consider example (8-42):

- (8-42) *Si беру=a gëre mungabul-n=è.*
 REL girl=that not AO:consent-CAUSI=3.N.SUBJ
 'The girl didn't consent to it.' (IK:22)

Actor orientation is important in clause-combining operations such as relativisation and control. For example, the verb in (8-43) is actor-oriented, signalling that the gap in a relative clause, i.e. which is co-referential with the clefted NP, bears the role of actor. Example (8-44) contains an example of equi-deletion. The prefix *mun-* signals that an equi-deleted NP has the role of actor:

- (8-43) *Sahan si Ø m-betih=è?*
 who REL AO-know=3.N.SUBJ
 'Who knows that?' (*'Who is knowing that?')

- (8-44) *Aku göre mera Ø mun-unuh-n=è.*
 1 not want AO-kill-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ
 'I don't want to kill him.'

Finally, in serial-verb constructions (§6.6), the status of the shared subject is signalled by a voice affix. In example (8-45), the prefix on the second predicate in the serial construction signals that the subject is an actor. Compare this with example (8-46), in which the second verb is undergoer-oriented.

- (8-45) *Bèwèn=é [r[em]alan] [munangkok-i bur].*
 all=3.POSS INTR-walk AO:ascend-LOC mountain
 'Everyone walked up the mountain.' (IK:62)

- (8-46) *Wè [ke-sakét-en] [i-dere-n jema].*
 3 ADVERS-sick UO-hit-CAUS1 person
 'He is injured (from being) hit by someone.'

8.4 Voice selection and discourse

Voice selection is often determined by factors of discourse continuity and prominence, with the most prominent argument being realised as the subject in a series of clauses (Donohue 2002). The macrorole of the ellipsed subject is signalled by *mun-* or *i-*. In (8-47) the voice affixes are used to signal the semantic role of an ellipsed subject in 'topic-chaining' (Dixon 1979) constructions in discourse. This example is taken from a section of a short story. It narrates a conversation between two people concerning a ring that a man was going to give to his wife. The ring is introduced in the first sentence, and is subsequently tracked by the use of the undergoer prefixes on the verbs that follow. Its topicality is reinforced with *ningko cencém=a* 'that ring of yours' as a right-dislocation in the third sentence, and after that by the undergoer prefixes on the verbs:

- (8-47) 'Ke cencém=ni göre i-luah-an' Keta si rawan=a pè,
 BCKGR ring=this not UO-free-CAUS1 then REL man=that also/even
i-luah-n=è, renyel. 'Boh keta, i-osah-an kin Inen
 UO-free-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ then HORT then UO-give-CAUS1 DAT Inen
Mayak ho, ningko cencém=a, kati i-taso-n=è. Renyel,
 Mayak yon yours ring=that so.that UO-store-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ then

i-osah-an si rawan=ne beta renyel ku si banan=ni.
 UO-give-CAUS1 REL man=before thus then to REL woman=this
 “This ring hasn’t been given away,” (he) said. Then the man, he gave (it) away.
 “All right then, give (it) to Inen Mayak, that ring of yours, so that she can store
 (it) away.” Then the man gave (it) to the woman.’

In example (8-48), the topical subject is an actor, which is ellipsed throughout the narration. The role of the ellipsed subject is signalled by the prefix *mun-* on the verbs. Note that the undergoers in this example are all non-inviduated:

- (8-48) *Mari oya pawang pè mununu kemenyén, mu-baca doa,*
 stop that expert.hunter also/even AO:light incense AO-read prayer
munirô restu.
 AO:request blessing
 ‘After that the hunter lit some incense, recited a prayer, (and) asked for a
 blessing.’ (IK:40)

As undergoer-orientation is associated with perfective aspect, undergoer-oriented predicates occur frequently in narratives that outline a sequence of completed events that follow each other. This is the foregrounding function of undergoer voice, as described by Hopper (1979) for Malay. Example (8-49) contains an excerpt of a woman relating her experience at the market. In this example the undergoer-oriented predicates are in **bold**:

- (8-49) ***Ku-osah** ke sèn se=ribu, gëre **i-ulak-n=è.***
 UO.1-give BCKGR money one=thousand not UO-return-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ
***Ku-peré-n** ‘Uén! Ini we sèn=ku lime ratus dih’,*
 UO.1-say-CAUS1 boy this EMPH money=1.POSS five hundred just
ken aku.
 say 1
 ‘I gave (him) one thousand (rupiyah) and he didn’t return (anything). I said,
 “Boy! this is my money, five hundred please”, I said. If it wasn’t said, (then)
 no, he wouldn’t have returned (it).’

Backgrounded clauses, on the other hand, are typically actor-oriented. Example (8-50) contains two clauses that convey background, explanatory information, not central to the main event-line of the story. Both of the predating verbs in the example are actor-oriented transitive verbs. Actor orientation is described in §8.3.

- (8-50) *Tuk ni kurik soboh mu-rungu-i=é ari nomé,*
 call POSS chicken morning AO-wake.up-LOC=3.N.SUBJ from lie.down
cici-kecico ni cencimpala mun-uet-en tubuh=é ari
 --- POSS parrot AO-get.up-CAUS1 body=3.POSS from
nipi=é ...
 dream=3.POSS
 ‘The call of the morning roosters woke him up from his sleep, the chirping
 of the parrots got him (lit. his body) up from his dreams.’ (IK:23)

The same story then continues with the main event line. The predicates are undergoer-oriented:

- (8-51) ... *I-tangkuh-n=è* *kude=é* *ari* *uer.* *I-tetah=è*
 UO-go.out-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ horse=3.POSS from stable UO-fix=3.N.SUBJ
kekang=é *renyel* *ku* *suyen* *ni* *umah=é.*
 bridle=3.POSS then to post POSS house=3.POSS
 '... He got his horse out of the stable. He then fixed its bridle to a post of his house.' (IK:23)

8.5 Decontrol undergoer orientation: *ter-*

The decontrol undergoer-prefix *ter-* marks undergoer-oriented transitive verbs that denote acts that are either unintended or are impossible to carry out. The paradigm for decontrol undergoer-oriented VPs is outlined in Table 8-4. The non-subject arguments in this construction type are expressed as enclitics, in the same manner as non-subjects in transitive actor-oriented constructions.

Table 8-4: Structure of decontrol undergoer-oriented VPs

Undergoer argument		Structure of VP
Sg.	1	<i>ter-V=aku</i>
	2	<i>ter-V=ko</i>
	3	<i>ter-V=è</i>
Pl.	1.INCL	<i>ter-V=kite</i>
	1.EXCL	<i>ter-V=kami</i>
	2	<i>ter-V=kam</i>
	3	<i>ter-V=è²/ter-V paké=a</i>

Ter- specifies two different types of meanings associated cross-linguistically with decontrol: (in)ability to carry out an act (§8.5.1) or that an event is accidental or unintended (§8.5.2). These two related meanings are determined pragmatically, and not by the semantics of the verbal base to which the prefix is attached. Benjamin (1993:23) brings together the notions of non-intention and capability, which are a feature of the cognate prefix *ter-* in Malay, stating that 'one's capabilities are a state that one enters not by intending'. These two meanings are described in turn in the following sections.

8.5.1 Inability

Ter- is most frequently attached to negated verbs (§13.4) to signal the inability or unreal possibility of the actor participant to carry out an action on an undergoer participant. Consider examples (8-52) and (8-53):

- (8-52) *Gëre* *te-kona=è* *akang=a.*
 not DC.UO-catch=3.N.SUBJ deer=that
 'He wasn't able to catch that deer.'

² See §10.1.1.3.

- (8-53) *Gëre te-cerak-n=è. basa Gayô.*
 not DC.UO-talk-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ language Gayo
 'She isn't able to speak Gayo.'

Often the actor participant is unexpressed. The clause refers to an act that can(not) be performed by people in general. In such cases, the predicate is typically negated. Consider examples (8-54) to (8-56):

- (8-54) *Gëre ter-inum uéh=ni.*
 not DC.UO-drink water=this
 'This water can't be drunk/ is undrinkable.'
- (8-55) *Gëre ter-unger ku wè basa Gayô ilen.*
 not DC.UO-speak to 3 language Gayo yet
 'Gayo can't be spoken to him yet.' (i.e. He doesn't understand Gayo.)
- (8-56) *Gëre te-tik bur=a, atas pedih.*
 not DC.UO-ascend mountain=that high very
 'That mountain can't be ascended, (it's) very high.'

This meaning is often conveyed in rhetorical questions containing *selo* 'when':

- (8-57) *Ike susu nge tue, selo ter-inum?*
 if milk already old when DC.UO-drink
 'If milk has gone bad, how could it be drinkable?'
- (8-58) *Jén lagu kuyu, selo ter-èngon?*
 spirit way wind when DC.UO-see
 'Spirits are like the wind, how could they be visible?'

Ter- can also attach to intransitive bases to derive transitive verbs. In examples (8-59) and (8-60), *ter-* is attached to the intransitive verbs *turun* 'descend' and *kunul* 'sit' to derive transitive verbs:

- (8-59) *Loang=a bahaya, te-turun kekanak.*
 hole=that danger DC.UO-descend child
 'That hole is dangerous, a child could fall down (it).'
- (8-60) *Kersi=ni gëre te-kunul.*
 chair=this not DC.UO-sit
 'This chair can't be sat on.' (i.e. It's broken.)

8.5.2 Unintentional acts

The prefix *ter-* can also signal that an action was carried accidentally or unintentionally, as in examples (8-61) and (8-62):

- (8-61) *Uéh wan gelas=a ter-inum=aku.*
 water inside:POSS glass=that DC.UO-drink=1.N.SUBJ
 'That glass of water was accidentally drunk by me.'
- (8-62) *Ter-inget=aku Kil pudah=ne.*
 DC.UO-remember=1.N.SUBJ Kil long.ago=earlier
 'I just remembered Kil (from) long ago.' (i.e. He just came to my mind.)

There are three instances in the corpus where reduplicated bases, such as *-ce-cerak* (*be-cerak* 'talk'), are marked by *ter-* signal that although an act was not strictly unintentional, it was carried out carelessly by a number of different people. Consider example (8-63):

(8-63) *Te-ce-cerak bahwa ari rēje Keléng munginté ku urang*
 DC.UO-RED-talk that from king Tamil AO:propose to person

tue=nte.

old=our.INCL

'It got around that (he came) from a Tamil king to make a proposal to our parents (i.e. for their daughter's hand in marriage).' (IK:175)

9 *Valence-increasing affixes*

The valence-increasing affixes in Gayo derive transitive verbs from nouns and intransitive and transitive verb roots. With intransitive roots, these affixes license an oblique argument to direct argument status. Attached to transitive roots they signal semantic information such as an increase in control over the event or volition, rather than an increase in syntactic transitivity. Such phenomena are common with valence-increasing morphology cross-linguistically (Dowty 1991; Klamer 1998). There are four valence-increasing affixes in Gayo. These are given in Table 9-1.

Table 9-1: Valence-increasing affixes

<i>-i</i>	locative suffix (§9.2)
<i>-(n)en</i>	causative suffix (§9.3)
<i>per-</i>	causative prefix (§9.4)
<i>peti-...-(n)en</i>	facilitative circumfix (§9.5)

The locative (applicative) suffix *-i* and the causative suffix *-(n)en* are highly productive, and can attach to nouns, verbs, and words of minor classes. The causative prefix *per-* is less productive. *Per-* attaches to certain stative verbs, verbs of cognition, and a small number of other intransitive verbs to derive transitive verbs. The circumfix *peti-...-(n)en* is not productive, and occurred in only a small number of derivations in the corpus.

The valence-increasing affixes attach to noun and verb roots to derive transitive verbs. These are in turn marked by a voice affix (i.e. *i-* (§8.2), *mun-* (§8.3), and *ter-* (§8.5)). Consider examples (9-1) to (9-3), which contain undergoer-oriented, actor-oriented, and decontrol undergoer-oriented predicates respectively:

- (9-1) *I-sayang-i=é* *aku.*
 UO-feel.compassion-LOC=3.N.SUBJ 1
 ‘He felt compassion toward me.’
- (9-2) *Aku mu-dekat-i ama=é.*
 1 AO-near-LOC father=3.POSS
 ‘I approached her father.’
- (9-3) *Si wan peti ho pè gère te-selok-i.*
 REL inside:POSS bag yon also/even not DC.UO-wear-LOC
 ‘The one in the bag (i.e. a shirt) can’t be worn.’ (SLG:27)

9.1 Functions of the valence-increasing affixes

Applicatives and causatives are commonly defined as markers of increased syntactic valence, bringing an oblique argument or an adjunct into 'direct object' status (Comrie 1985). In Gayo, the valence-increasing affixes can be used to derive transitive verbs from intransitive roots. For example, (9-4a) contains an intransitive verb with a PP adjunct of location. In (9-4b), the locative suffix *-i* licenses a direct undergoer argument with the semantic role of location, increasing the (syntactic) valence of the verb:

- (9-4) a. *Kunul aku i atan kersi=a.*
 sit I LOC top:POSS chair=that
 'I sat on the chair.'
- b. *Ku-kunul-i kersi=a.*
 UO.1-sit-LOC chair=that
 'I sat on the chair.'

Parallel morphology in related languages such as Malay / Bahasa Indonesia (Chung 1976; Kana 1986; Purwo 1995) and Balinese (Artawa 1998) licenses peripheral constituents to direct object status. For example, Purwo (1995:82) characterises the affixes *-i* and *-kan* in Bahasa Indonesia, which are cognate with *-i* and *-(n)en* in Gayo, in the following terms: 'The suffix *-i* marks the DAT and LOC object, while the suffix *-kan* marks the BEN- and INSTR-object'. In Gayo, the locative suffix *-i* attaches to intransitive verbs to licence direct undergoer arguments with the roles of locative and stimulus. However, like valence-increasing affixes in other languages, the Gayo affixes have functions other than increasing the syntactic valence of the verb to which they are attached. These are outlined in the following.

While a direct argument often collocates with a PP constituent in an intransitive clause, as demonstrated in example (9-4) above, transitive verb roots can take a valence-increasing affix without an increase in the number of arguments the resulting derivation takes. Rather, the affix signals some semantic modification of the act referred to by the verb, i.e. the relationship between the act and an undergoer participant. Example (9-5) demonstrates how the suffixes *-i* (§9.2) and *-(n)en* (§9.3) do not affect the valence of the transitive verb *i-tipak* 'kick', i.e. they do not license a third argument. Without these suffixes, the verb denotes a single instance of the act of kicking, which may or may not have been intentional. The suffix *-(n)en* signals that the act is intentional and carried out with more force, as demonstrated in (9-5b). When attached to a transitive verb root, the suffix *-i* indicates that the act was carried out repeatedly, as demonstrated in (9-5c):

- (9-5) a. *I-tipak=è asu=ngku.*
 UO-kick=3.N.SUBJ dog=1.POSS
 'He kicked my dog.'
- b. *I-tipak-n=è asu=ngku.*
 UO-kick-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ dog=1.POSS
 'He kicked my dog (purposefully, intensely, affecting undergoer).'
- c. *I-tipak-i=è asu=ngku.*
 UO-kick-LOC=3.N.SUBJ dog=1.POSS
 'He kicked my dog (repeatedly).'

These affixes can also be attached to certain intransitive roots without a resulting increase in transitivity, although an undergoer expressed as an oblique argument is required in such clauses. This is demonstrated in examples (9-6) and (9-7) with the locative suffix *-i*:

- (9-6)

I-guril-i

motor

ku

bebiri.

UO:roll-LOC vehicle to sheep

‘The car rolled onto a sheep.’ (*mu-guril* ‘roll’)
- (9-7)

Icing-i

manuk

ter

ulu=é.

UO:defecate-LOC bird PROX head=3.POSS

‘A bird shat on his head.’ (Melalatoa 1982:114)

In summary, while the valence-increasing affixes are used to derive transitive verbs from nouns and intransitive roots, when attached to transitive verb roots these affixes also signal semantic information about the event specified by the affixed verb. The valence-increasing affixes are described in turn in the following sections.

9.2 Locative suffix: *-i*

Many western Austronesian languages feature a suffix *-i*, which is generally referred to as a ‘location-oriented transitivity suffix’ (Sirk 1996). In Gayo, *-i* can attach to nominal or verbal roots to derive transitive verbs. The suffix *-i* is referred to in this grammar as a ‘locative’ (LOC) suffix. This is due to the fact that one of the functions of *-i* is to license locative adjuncts as direct core arguments when attached to verbs of motion and its cognates in many related languages are typically given this label. The suffix signals a range of different meanings. These are outlined in Table 9-2.

Table 9-2: Functions of *-i*

Host	Function
intransitive verb root (§9.2.1):	licenses a locative undergoer argument
	licenses a stimulus undergoer argument
transitive verb root (§9.2.2):	signals repetition
nominal root (§9.2.3):	signals that the undergoer is affected in some way by the entity referred to by the nominal root.

Derivations containing *-i* are described in the following sections. These are categorised according to the category of their base.

9.2.1 With intransitive roots

With intransitive roots (§5.2.4), *-i* can license a direct undergoer argument, bearing one of two semantic roles: locative and stimulus, resulting in a transitive derivation.

9.2.1.1 Licensing locative undergoers

When attached to resultative verbs (§4.3.1) that specify motion, *-i* licenses a locative undergoer argument. The affixed verb specifies that the act occurred at the location of the undergoer. Consider examples (9-8) and (9-9):

- (9-8) *Jema kin rēje i-gèh-i jamu delé.*
 person as king UO-come-LOC visitor many
 'The person who is king is approached by many visitors.' (*gèh* 'come') (IK:236)
- (9-9) *Gēre lepas i-cop-i=é.*
 not able UO-land-LOC=3.N.SUBJ
 'They weren't able to land on (it).' (*cop* 'land, alight')

This meaning is also signalled when attached to bound intransitive roots that specify meanings of motion or posture. Consider examples (9-10) and (9-11):

- (9-10) *Masa oya dené Biren-Takèngen paling ngók i-ralan-i*
 era that road Bireuen-Takengon most can UO-walk-LOC
urum kiding.
 with foot
 'At that time, the Bireuen-Takengon road could at most be travelled on by foot.' (*r[em]jalan* 'walk') (IK:128)
- (9-11) *Ini nge i-tuh-i atu.*
 this already UO-fall-LOC stone
 'This got fallen on by a rock.' (*mu-tuh* 'fall')

Attached to verbs of excretion (§7.4.2.1), *-i* licenses undergoers that represent the entity that has been excreted upon:

- (9-12) *I-oncos-i=é umah ni paké=a.*
 UO-urinate-LOC=3.N.SUBJ house POSS 3.PL=that
 'He urinated on their house.' (*m-oncos* 'urinate')
- (9-13) *I-loah-i=é aku.*
 UO-vomit-LOC=3.N.SUBJ I
 'She vomited on me.' (*pe-loah* 'vomit')

With certain verbs that denote the production of sounds (§7.4.1.3), *-i* licenses a direct undergoer argument that specifies the entity that the sound is directed at:

- (9-14) *Rupen si i-oyong-i asu sine nume akang.*
 apparently REL UO-bark-LOC dog earlier not deer
 'It seems that what the dog was barking at wasn't a deer.' (*m-oyong* 'bark') (IK:49)

Similarly, with verbs of saying, *-i* can license an undergoer that denotes a person spoken to:

- (9-15) *Gēre i-sôt-i=é aku.*
 not UO-answer-LOC=3.N.SUBJ I
 'He didn't answer me.' (*mu-sôt* 'answer')
- (9-16) *Sahan i-cerak-i=ko mané?*
 who UO-talk-LOC=2.N.SUBJ yesterday
 'Who did you talk to yesterday?' (*be-cerak* 'talk')

Attached to verbs that denote inherently reciprocal states of affairs, or states of affairs involving more than one participant, *-i* licenses locative undergoers. The resulting verb specifies an event. Consider examples (9-17) and (9-18):

- (9-17) *Renyel i-dekat-i kekanak=ne jema tue=ne.*
 then UO-near-LOC child=earlier person old=earlier
 'Then the children drew closer to the old person.' (*dekat* 'near')
- (9-18) *Jema banan i-kerje-i=é.*
 person woman UO-married-LOC=3.N.SUBJ
 'He married a woman.' (*kerje* 'married')

9.2.1.2 Licensing direct stimulus undergoers

Stative verbs that take oblique arguments referring to stimuli (§5.2.1.2) can take *-i* to derive transitive verbs whose undergoer is a stimulus. This can occur with oblique argument-taking stative verbs, as in (9-19) and (9-20):

- (9-19) *Ku-bengis-i guru.*
 UO.1-angry-LOC teacher
 'I got angry with the teacher.' (*bengis* 'angry (about)')
- (9-20) *Sana si i-teréh-i?*
 what REL UO-afraid-LOC
 'What is there to be afraid of?' (*teréh* 'afraid (of)')

The suffix can also license direct stimulus undergoer arguments when attached to bound oblique-argument taking verbs, as in (9-21) and (9-22):

- (9-21) *I-pongot-i=é anak=é.*
 UO-weep-LOC=3.N.SUBJ offspring=3.POSS
 'She wept for her child.' (*mumongot* 'weep (for)')
- (9-22) *Enti nè i-kalé-i ibi aku.*
 don't anymore UO-miss-LOC aunt I
 'Don't miss me aunty (i.e. when I go away).' (*mu-kalé* 'miss, long (for)')

9.2.2 With transitive roots

Attached to transitive roots, *-i* does not increase the syntactic valence of the verb. In such derivations the suffix signals repetition or extended duration. With transitive verbs denoting cognitive acts, *-i* signals that the act has a gradient truth-value, as opposed to the form without the suffix, which specifies an act with a polar truth-value. These two functions are described in the following sections.

9.2.2.1 With transitive roots denoting volitional acts and acts of perception

When attached to transitive verb roots that denote actions, *-i* signals that the act is repetitive or durative. Consider examples (9-23) and (9-24):

- (9-23) *Ku-pèrah-i ama=ngku.*
 UO.1-seek-LOC father=1.POSS
 'I am searching for my father.' (*i-pèrah* 'seek')

- (9-24) *I-pangan-i tikus rom i-suen.*
 UO-eat-LOC mouse rice.plant UO-plant
 'The mice ate away at the planted rice.' (*i-pangan* 'eat') (IK: 120)

This suffix can also convey a sense that an act was carried out on a number of occasions, or on multiple undergoer participants, as in (9-25) and (9-26):

- (9-25) *I-uet-i=é reta=ngku.*
 UO-take-LOC=3.N.SUBJ wealth=1.POSS
 'He was taking my belongings (i.e. over and over again).' (*i-uet* 'take')
- (9-26) *Delé kayu nge i-tebang-i.*
 many tree already UO-cut.down-LOC
 'Many trees have been cut down (i.e. over a long period of time).'
 (*i-tebang* 'cut down, fell')

This meaning is also signalled when *-i* is attached to ditransitive verb roots:

- (9-27) *Nge ku-osah-i kekanak=a nenas.*
 already UO.1-give-LOC child=that pineapple
 'I have given that child pineapples (many times).' (*i-osah* 'give')
- (9-28) *Két-en renyel pumu si mun-osah-i pakan=mu!*
 (UO-)bite-CAUS1 then hand REL AO-give-LOC food=1.POSS
 '(Go ahead and) bite the hand that feeds you!' (*i-osah* 'give')

When *-i* is attached to transitive verbs of perception, a meaning of repetition or extended duration is conveyed. The act specified by the resulting verb is intentional:

- (9-29) *I-èngon-i=é batang-batang ni kayu.*
 UO-see-LOC=3.N.SUBJ RED-tree.trunk POSS tree
 'He looked around at the trees.' (*i-èngon* 'see') (IK:24)

9.2.2.2 With transitive verbs of knowing

Transitive verbs of knowing, i.e. *i-betih* 'know' and *i-paham* 'understand', denote states of affairs that have polar truth values i.e. they can be either true or false, as in example (9-30):

- (9-30) *I-betih=è te-tikik basa Gayô.*
 UO-know=3.N.SUBJ RED-a.little language Gayo
 'They know a little Gayo.'

When such verbs are marked by the suffix *-i*, the state of affairs referred to by the verb differs from verbs without the suffix in that the verb signals a gradient truth-value. The suffixed formation describes a state of affairs that is increasingly applicable the more effort is exerted to achieve that state. For example, the verbs *i-betih* 'know' and *i-paham* 'understand' are suffixed with *-i* to convey a sense that the acts of 'knowing' and 'understanding' are gradual processes whose outcome can be achieved after some exertion over a period of time. Consider example (9-31):

- (9-31) *Agama Islam, gëre mèh ku-betih-i, ku-paham-i ilen.*
 religion Islam not complete UO.1-know-LOC UO.1-understand-LOC yet
 'Islam, I don't completely know (it, or) completely understand (it) yet.'

9.2.2.3 With roots marked by the decontrol undergoer orientation prefix *ter-*

With *ter*-affixed derivations (§8.5), *-i* has the same function as with those marked by the undergoer prefix *i-*, i.e. licensing locative undergoers. Example (9-32) contains *ter*-affixed verbs that are marked by the locative suffix:

- (9-32) *Gëre te-demu-i=é jema=wa.*
 not DC.UO-meet-LOC=3.N.SUBJ person=that
 'He wasn't able to meet that person.'

9.2.3 With nominal roots

With nominal roots, *-i* marks derivations with a meaning of 'affect undergoer by means of N', where N is the entity specified by the nominal root. These derivations denote acts in which the entity specified by the root is used as an instrument, or somehow affects the undergoer. The actor affects the undergoer by means of the referent of the affixed noun. Consider examples (9-33) to (9-35):

- (9-33) *Budék=a i-baju-i ine=é.*
 baby=that UO-shirt-LOC mother=3.POSS
 'That baby has been dressed by its mother.'
- (9-34) *I-tube-i=é asu=a.*
 UO-poison-LOC=3.N.SUBJ dog=that
 'They poisoned that dog.'
- (9-35) *Ike dengké gëre i-awas-i, selo jéng?*
 if meat not UO-spicy.sauce-LOC when spicy.hot
 'If meat isn't spiced, how can it be hot?'

In derivations with nominal roots denoting the body parts of animals, *-i* signals that the entity specified by the root is 'removed' from the undergoer:

- (9-36) *I-kulit-i=é kaming=a.*
 UO-skin-LOC=3.N.SUBJ goat=that
 'He skinned (i.e. took the skin off) the goat.'
- (9-37) *Iken nge i-tuke-i.*
 fish already UO-stomach-LOC
 'The fish has been gutted.'

9.3 Causative suffix: *-(n)en*

The causative suffix *-(n)en* has three functions: (1) Attached to intransitive verbs it signals a causative meaning; (2) attached to transitive and ditransitive verbs it signals either a causative meaning or increased volition; and (3) attached to nouns it signals that the undergoer participant is affected in some way by the entity specified by the nominal root. Like the other valence-increasing affixes, *-(n)en* can signal an increase in volition or intention. The functions of *-(n)en* are summarised in Table 9-3.

Table 9-3: Functions of *-(n)en*

Host	Function
intransitive verb root (§9.3.1):	causative
transitive verb root (§9.3.2):	increased volition or causative
nominal root (§9.3.3):	undergoer participant affected by entity specified by the root

Derivations bearing the suffix *-(n)en* are described in detail in the following sections, which are categorised according to the lexical category of the root to which they are attached.

9.3.1 With intransitive roots

Attached to intransitive roots, *-(n)en* derives transitive verbs with causative meanings. This suffix signals direct rather than indirect causation (Comrie 1985:339), i.e. that the actor has direct control over the situation described by the verb, rather than having indirect control, i.e. where the causer has a permissive function.

The suffix *-(n)en* can be attached to either stative or resultative (non-stative) independent verb roots to specify direct causative meanings. This is demonstrated in (9-38) and (9-39) respectively:

- (9-38) *I-teles-n=è* *diri=é* *ku jema* *mu-kerumung*.
 UO-visible-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ self=3.POSS to person INTR-crowd
 'He made himself visible to the people (who were) gathering.' (*teles* 'visible')

- (9-39) *Tangkuh-n=è* *kude=é* *ari* *uer*.
 (UO-)go.out-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ horse=3.POSS from stable
 'He got the horse out of the stable.' (*tangkuh* 'go out') (IK:23)

With certain complement-taking stative verbs, *-(n)en* licenses a stimulus as a direct argument. The meanings are often unpredictable from the sum of their parts, as (9-40) demonstrates:

- (9-40) *Sayang-an* *renyel* *ngi=mu!*
 (UO-)feel.compassion-CAUS1 then younger.sibling=2.POSS
 'Calm your younger brother!' (i.e. 'Stop your baby brother from crying!')
 (*sayang* 'feel compassion (toward)')

When attached to the existential verbs *ara* (§5.2.4.1.1) and *jadi* 'become' (§5.2.4.1.2), *-(n)en* specifies a direct causative meaning, as demonstrated in examples (9-41) and (9-42):

- (9-41) *Buet mungerje pè* *renyel* *i-ara-n*.
 work AO:marry also/even then UO-EXIST-CAUS1
 'The wedding was then held.' (IK:206)

- (9-42) *I-jadé-n=è* *lôt* *lues*.
 UO-become-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ lake wide
 'He (i.e. God) made the wide lakes.' (Métun)

With bound intransitive roots, *-(n)en* can specify a causative meaning. Consider examples (9-43) to (9-45):

- (9-43) *Ku-ayo-nen kasèt ku was.*
 UO.1-enter-CAUS1 cassette to inside
 'I'll put the cassette inside.' (*m-ayo* 'enter')
- (9-44) *Kelip=a i-loah-an.*
 staple=that UO-vomit-CAUS1
 'That staple was vomited up.' (*pe-loah* 'vomit')
- (9-45) *I-niré-n=è anak=é.*
 UO-bathe-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ offspring:3.POSS
 'She bathed her child.' (*muniri* 'bathe')

In certain cases where *-(n)en* is attached to verbs which denote controlled actions, the semantics of the verb derived with *-(n)en* are unpredictable. This is because *-(n)en* specifies direct rather than indirect causation. For example, the affixation of the verb *mu-sangka* 'run' with *-(n)en* does not derive a verb meaning 'to make run', i.e. implying some control on the part of the undergoer, but rather 'kidnap':

- (9-46) *I-sangka-n=è anak n=jema.*
 UO-run-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ offspring POSS=person
 'He kidnapped somebody's child.' (*mu-sangka* 'run')

This is further demonstrated with the intransitive verb *mu-nanti* 'wait around'. With the suffix *-(n)en*, the derivation takes an undergoer specifying 'that which is waited for', and not 'that which has been made to wait':

- (9-47) *Mokot nge kite-nanté-n jëwep ni soal.*
 long.time already UO.1.INCL-wait-CAUS1 answer POSS question
 '[It's been] a long time that we've waited for an answer to the question.'
 (*munanti* 'wait around') (IK:150)

Bound verb roots of saying that are linked to the middle prefix *ber-*, and can be affixed with *-(n)en* to license an undergoer that specifies 'that which is talked about'. This is demonstrated in examples (9-48) and (9-49):

- (9-48) *Sahan i-cerak-an=ko mané?*
 who UO-talk-CAUS1=2.N.SUBJ yesterday
 'Who were you talking about yesterday?' (*be-cerak* 'talk')
- (9-49) *I-peré-n=è gëre mu-gadung.*
 UO-tell-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ not INTR-cassava
 'She said that (she) doesn't have any cassava.' (*be-peri* 'tell')

9.3.2 With transitive roots

With transitive roots, *-(n)en* can specify causative meanings, increased volition, and certain other idiosyncratic meanings specifically associated with individual roots.

9.3.2.1 Specifying causative meanings

With transitive roots that specify meanings of motion, *-(n)en* specifies causative meanings:

- (9-50) *Ku-tik-en kekanak=a ku atan kayu ho.*
 UO.1-ascend-CAUS1 child=that to top:POSS tree you
 'I put the child on a tree.' (i.e. I caused the child to ascend the tree).
 (i-*tik* 'ascend')
- (9-51) *Pawang pè munyapu-ni tapak ni pumu=é*
 expert.hunter also/even AO:sweep-CAUS1 palm POSS hand=3.POSS
ku salak=é.
 to face=3.POSS
 'The hunter wiped the palm of his hand across his face.' (i.e. The hunter caused his hand to sweep over his face.) (IK:50)

When attached to the transitive verb (*i-*)*inget* 'remember', *-(n)en* derives a verb meaning 'remind'. This verb can take a clausal complement in the same pattern as manipulative complements (§15.2.2.4):

- (9-52) *Ku-inget-en Udin beluh ku=mpus=é.*¹
 UO.1-remember-CAUS1 Udin go to=garden=3.POSS
 'I reminded Udin to go to his garden.'

Finally, when *-(n)en* is attached to the transitive verb *i-siwe* 'rent', an inverse meaning is specified, i.e. 'rent out'. Compare (9-53) and (9-54):

- (9-53) *Ku-siwe umah.*
 UO.1-rent house
 'I rented a house.'
- (9-54) *Ku-siwe-n umah=ku ku wè.*
 UO.1=rent-CAUS1 house=1.POSS to 3
 'I rented my house out to him.'

With this verb, *-(n)en* can license a third, direct benefactive argument. In this example *-(n)en* derives a ditransitive verb from a monotransitive root (i.e. *i-siwe* 'rent'):

- (9-55) *Ku-siwe-n wè umah.*
 UO.1=rent-CAUS1 3 house
 'I rented him a house.' (i.e. 'I payed his rent for the house he lives in.')

9.3.2.2 Specifying increased volition

With most transitive verbs *-(n)en* does not signal an increase in the syntactic transitivity of a verb, but rather signals an increase in volition or intensity of the action specified. Without *-(n)en*, the verb specifies a single instance of the action, which may or may not be intentional. With the suffix, the action is intentional and often highly volitional, and the undergoer is highly affected by the act. For example, in (9-56a) the act specified by the verb does not significantly affect the undergoer, and may have been unintentional. In (9-56b) the suffixed verb denotes an intentional act that significantly affected the undergoer:

¹ Note the loss of epenthetic schwa in *empus* when the preposition is cliticised (§2.2.3.3).

- (9-56) a. *I-tipak=è* *aku*.
 UO-kick=3.N.SUBJ 1
 'He kicked me.'
- b. *I-tipak-ni* *akang asu, mu-belah ulu=é*.
 UO-kick-CAUS1 deer dog AO-split head=3.POSS
 'The deer kicked the dog, splitting its head.' (SLG:132)

More examples are given in (9-57) and (9-58):

- (9-57) *I-unuh-n=è* *kite*.
 UO-kill-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ we.INCL
 'They will murder us.' (SLG:62)
- (9-58) *Malè ku-dere-nen* *ngi=mu*.
 will UO.1-hit-CAUS1 younger.sibling=2.POSS
 'I'm going to hit your younger brother.'

With the verb *i-pengé* 'hear', *-(n)en* signals that the act is intentional on the part of the actor, i.e. the hearer. The meaning of the suffixed verb is 'listen to':

- (9-59) *John tengah=a, pen-èjer-en=ku i-pengè-n=è*.
 John long.ago=that U.NOM-teach=1.POSS UO-hear-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ
 'John used to listen to what I had to teach.'
- (9-60) *I-pengè-n=è* *aku*.
 UO-hear-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ 1
 'They listened to me.'

With two transitive verbs in Gayo, namely *i-turuh* 'show, indicate' and *i-jurah* 'pass, give', *-(n)en* licenses a third argument with the role of benefactor. The benefactor participant can be expressed as either direct or an oblique argument. Thus, the suffix derives ditransitive verbs from monotransitive roots. This is demonstrated in (9-61) to (9-63):

- (9-61) *Turuh jema oya=ne dené ku kampung*.
 (UO-)show person that=earlier road to village
 'That person showed the way to the village.' (SLG:47)
- (9-62) *Nge ku-turuh-en gambar=ne ku ama*.
 already UO.1-show-CAUS1 picture=earlier to father
 'I have shown the picture to father.'
- (9-63) *Nge ku-turuh-en ama gambar=ne*.
 already UO.1-show-CAUS1 father picture=earlier
 'I have shown father the picture.'

There are four ditransitive verbs in Gayo (§5.3.5). The suffix *-(n)en* can attach to any of these if they are expressed in a monotransitive clause, i.e. when the argument referring to a goal is expressed obliquely. This suffix cannot mark derivations that take a direct goal undergoer argument. This is demonstrated in (9-64) to (9-66):

- (9-64) *I-osah=è* *aku kôrô*.
 UO-give=3.N.SUBJ 1 buffalo
 'He gave me a buffalo.'

- (9-65) *I-osan*=è² *kôrô*=é=*ne* *kin aku*.
 UO-give:CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ buffalo=3.POSS=earlier DAT I
 'He gave his buffalo to me.'

- (9-66) **I-osan*=è *aku kôrô*.
 UO-give:CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ I buffalo
 ('He gave me a buffalo.')

When attached to the ditransitive verb *i-osah* 'give', *-(n)en* signals that the act of giving involves increased volition, often involving multiple undergoers, i.e. meaning 'give out':

- (9-67) *Gère pis* *até=wé* *mun-osan* *dengké si*
 not bring.o.s.to liver=3.POSS AO-give:CAUS1 meat REL
dèpet=è *ku jema oya*.
 (UO-)find=3.N.SUBJ to person that
 'He couldn't bring himself to give out the meat that he had found to those people.' (IK:54)

Finally, *-(n)en* forms two transitive verbs of 'putting'. The two verbs of putting take three arguments, two of which, an actor and an undergoer, are expressed as direct arguments, and the third denoting the goal, which is always expressed obliquely. The verbs of putting are *i-paré-n* 'put, place' (*pari* 'condition, state'), and *i-bobon*, *i-bon* 'put' (*i-bôh* 'add'):

- (9-68) *Nge ku-paré-n* *buku ku wan* *lemari*.
 already UO.1-place-CAUS1 book to inside:POSS cupboard
 'I put the book into the cupboard.'
- (9-69) *Le-layang i-bon* *ku serap m=pintu*.
 RED-kite UO-add:CAUS1 to side POSS=door
 'The kite was put on the back of the door.' (Linge)

9.3.3 With nominal roots

Attached to nominal roots, *-(n)en* derives verbs conveying a meaning of 'affect by means of N', where N represents the thing specified by the nominal root. With derivations marked by *-(n)en*, there is a sense that the undergoer is changed or affected by N. This is in contrast with derivations marked by the locative suffix *-i* (§9.2.3), which indicate that the undergoer is the final location of N, and is not necessarily affected by the act. Consider examples (9-70) to (9-74):

- (9-70) *Nge i-beton-en* *pè* *i-mas-an*.
 already UO-concrete-CAUS1 also/even UO-gold-CAUS1
 'After (it) was concreted, then gold was put (on it).' (*beton* 'concrete', *mas* 'gold')
- (9-71) *Renyel i-kunyur-n*=è, *akang pè* *kona*.
 then UO-spear-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ deer also/even strike
 'Then he speared (it), the deer was struck.' (*kunyur* 'spear') (IK:25)

² *i-osan*: the final *h* of *i-osah* 'give' is often dropped when suffixed by *-(n)en*.

- (9-72) *Ama=wa pané mun-uak-an jema.*
 father=that clever AO-medicine-CAUS1 person
 'That old man (lit. that father) is clever at healing people.' (*uak* 'medicine')
- (9-73) *I-doa-n=è jema maté.*
 UO-prayer-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ person dead
 'He prayed over (i.e. said a prayer for) the dead person.' (*doa* 'prayer')
- (9-74) *Ku-gerétan-an wè ku palôh.*
 UO.1-bicycle-CAUS1 3 to downhill
 'He rode with me on his bike down the mountain.' (*gerétan* 'bicycle')

When attached to the noun *pong* 'friend', *-(n)en* derives a transitive verb meaning 'accompany':

- (9-75) *Oya le jema si ku-pong-en beluh ku kedé.*
 that FOC person REL UO.1-friend-CAUS1 go to market
 'That's the person I accompanied to the market.'

When attached to nouns that denote food dishes or collections of things, *-(n)en* derives verbs that specify that the undergoer participant has been 'made into' the thing specified by N:

- (9-76) *Jantar nge i-cecah-an.*
 vegetable already UO-k.o.vegetable.dish-CAUS1
 'The vegetables have been made into *cecah*.' (*cecah* 'traditional spicy vegetable dish')
- (9-77) *Gulé nge i-pengat-an.*
 fish already UO-k.o.stew-CAUS1
 'The fish has been made into *pengat*.' (*pengat* 'traditional stew')
- (9-78) *Alas nge i-santon-en.³*
 mat already UO-collection.of.mats-CAUS1
 'The mats have been made into a *santon*.'
- (9-79) *I-cerite-n=è sejarah=é bèwèn=é.*
 UO-story-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ history=3.POSS all=3.POSS
 'He told his entire story.' (i.e. 'He made all of his history into a story')
 (*cerite* 'story') (SLG:48)

9.4 Causative prefix: *per-*

Causative *per-* is formally distinguished from derivations bearing the intransitive 'temporal extension' prefix *per-* (§7.5), by the fact that derivations bearing causative *per-* are always marked by a voice affix. Like *-(n)en*, which was described in §9.3 above, *per-* has a causative function. However, there are a number of semantic differences between the two affixes. These differences are outlined in Table 9-4.

³ *santon*: a collection of woven mats, which are rolled up and hung with ropes in a neat stack on the wall for storage. They is a typical feature of the traditional Gayo home.

Table 9-4: Distinctions between *-(n)en* and *per-* causatives

<i>-(n)en</i>	<i>per-</i>
highly productive	less productive
signals higher volition	signals lower volition
actor has direct control	actor has less direct control

The main difference between the two causative affixes is that with *-(n)en* the actor participant has more direct control over the event described by the verb it derives. For example, *per-* can attach to the stative verb *kemèl* ‘shy’ to derive the transitive verb *-pe-kemèl* ‘make shy’, but causative *-(n)en* cannot derive a verb with this root (**-kemèl-en*). This reflects the fact that causatives formed with *-(n)en* involve a highly volitional act of causation, while *per-* signals a causative relationship whereby the actor does not act directly upon the undergoer, but rather facilitates a state of affairs that will affect the undergoer in some way. Consider (9-80a and b):

- (9-80) a. *I-pe-kemèl=è* *aku.*
 UO-CAUS2-shy=3.N.SUBJ 1
 ‘She made me feel shy.’
- b. **I-kemèl-n=è* *aku.*
 UO-shy-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ 1
 (‘She made me feel shy.’)

The functions of causative *per-* are described in the following sections. The sections are categorised according to the syntactic category of the root.

9.4.1 With verbal roots

When attached to stative verbs, causative *per-* derives transitive verbs that denote causative meanings, i.e. that the actor causes the undergoer to be a participant in the state of affairs described by the root:

- (9-81) *I-pe-silep=è* *aku.*
 UO-CAUS2-forget=3.N.SUBJ 1
 ‘S/he caused me to forget.’ (*silep* ‘forget’)
- (9-82) *Ko ku-pe-nyanya.*
 2 UO.1-CAUS2-be.in.difficulty
 ‘I’ll put you in difficulty.’ (*nyanya* ‘be in difficulty’) (IK:76)
- (9-83) *I-pe-kemuh=è* *aku.*
 UO-CAUS2-feel.hot=3.N.SUBJ 1
 ‘He made me feel shy.’ (lit. ‘He made me feel hot.’) (*kemuh* ‘feel hot’)

When attached to the bound intransitive verb (*mu-*)*nipi* ‘dream’, causative *per-* derives a transitive verb that takes a direct NP argument, as demonstrated in (9-84); or a clausal complement, as demonstrated in (9-85). The verb in (9-85) is not causative. The actor in the intransitive clause is the same actor as in the transitive derivation.

- (9-84) *I-pe-nipi=é* *aku.*
 UO-CAUS2-dream=3.N.SUBJ 1
 'She dreams of me.'
- (9-85) *I-pe-nipi=é* *anak=é* *benasah.*
 UO-CAUS2-dream=3.N.SUBJ offspring=3.POSS pass.away
 'She dreamt that her child passed away.'

9.4.2 With reduplicated bases

Causative *per-* can be attached to reduplicated bases that are verbs usually occurring in phrasal-verb constructions (§5.2.4.2) to derive transitive verbs with causative meanings. The undergoer argument is represented by the noun *até* 'liver, seat of the emotions' with an attached possessive enclitic. This is demonstrated in (9-86) and (9-87):

- (9-86) *I-pe-me-macik=è* *até=ngku.*
 UO-CAUS-RED-worry=3.N.SUBJ liver=1.POSS
 'He made me worried.' (*macik até* 'be worried')
- (9-87) *I-p-ues-ues=è* *até=wé.*
 UO-CAUS-RED-sad=3.N.SUBJ liver=3.POSS
 'He made her sad.' (*ues até* 'sad')

Another meaning is conveyed with reduplicated stative verb bases. The resulting derivation conveys the meaning 'make undergoer seem to be V', where V represents the state of affairs specified by the base of the derivation:

- (9-88) *I-p-ogoh-ogoh=è* *kite.*
 UO-CAUS-RED-stupid=3.N.SUBJ we.INCL
 'He made us look stupid.' (*ogoh* 'stupid')

These constructions typically occur with reflexive undergoers, as demonstrated in examples

(9-89) to (9-91):

- (9-89) *I-pe-kôl-kôl=è* *diri=é.*
 UO-CAUS-RED-big=3.N.SUBJ self=3.POSS
 'He boasts about himself, makes himself look big.' (*kôl* 'big')
- (9-90) *I-pe-le-limik=è* *diri=é.*
 UO-CAUS-RED-tired=3.N.SUBJ self=3.POSS
 'She made herself look like she was tired.' (*limik* 'tired')
- (9-91) *I-pe-se-sakét=è* *diri=é.*
 UO-CAUS-RED-sick=3.N.SUBJ self=3.POSS
 'He made himself look sick.' (*sakét* 'sick')

This pattern can also occur with bound intransitive bases, as demonstrated in (9-92):

- (9-92) *I-pe-ne-nomé=wé* *diri=é.*
 UO-CAUS-RED-lie.down=3.N.SUBJ self=3.POSS
 'He is making himself look like he is sleeping.' (*mu-nomé* 'lie.down')

9.4.3 Co-occurrence of causative *per-* with *-i* and *-(n)en*

In a small number of constructions, causative *per-* can occur in conjunction with the valence-increasing suffixes *-i* (§9.2) and *-(n)en* (§9.3). When causative *per-* occurs in conjunction with causative *-(n)en*, the act referred to is more intentional than that referred to by a verb without the suffix. In (9-93), the *-(n)en* signals more control over the action by the actor, i.e. that the actor is 'washing' the undergoer, whereas in (9-94), the causative prefix *per-* signals less control over the action, i.e. that although the actor is involved, the act of bathing was not necessarily carried out by the actor directly:

- (9-93) *Ku-niré-n wè i Uéh Nangka ho.*
 UO.1-bathe-CAUS1 3 LOC water Nangka yon
 'I bathed him in the River Nangka.'

- (9-94) *Mai jema delé Rëje Makmur=ne.*
 (UO-)carry :LOC person many king Makmur=earlier
I-pe-niré-n ku uéh so.
 UO-CAUS2-bath-CAUS1 to water yon
 'The people took King Makmur (and) bathed him in the river.' (SLG:34)

With the transitive verb (*i-*)*inget* 'remember', the co-occurrence of the two causative affixes derives a complement taking transitive verb, specifying the meaning 'remind':

- (9-95) *I-per-inget-n=è ku aku n-unuh-en uéh=ne.*
 UO-CAUS2-remember-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ to 1 AO-kill-CAUS1 water=earlier
 'She reminded me to turn off the water.'

When causative *per-* and *-(n)en* are attached to numerals a causative meaning is signalled, specifying that the undergoer participant is made or divided into the number specified by the base. Examples include *i-pe-sara-n* 'make into one, mix, unite' (*sara* 'one') and *i-pe-roa-n* 'make into two' (*roa* 'two'):

- (9-96) *I-pe-roa-n=è dengké=ne.*
 UO-CAUS2-two-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ meat=earlier
 'He divided the meat into two.'

Causative *per-* can also occur in conjunction with the locative suffix *-i* (§9.2). This combination is restricted to only a few constructions. When the prefix occurs in conjunction with *-i* there is a sense that the act affects the undergoer. There may also be a sense that the undergoer feels the effects of the act more than in those constructions that do not contain *per-*. Consider examples (9-97a and b):

- (9-97) a. *I-kedik-i=é aku.*
 UO-laugh-LOC=3.N.SUBJ 1
 'He laughed at me.'
- b. *I-pe-kedik-i=é aku.*
 UO-CAUS2-laugh-LOC=3.N.SUBJ 1
 'He mocked me.'

In example (9-98a) the predicate does not take causative *per-*, and *-i* licenses a locative undergoer argument. With *per-* in (9-98b), the derivation denotes a more deliberate act in which the undergoer is more affected:

- (9-98) a. *I-oncos-i=é* *ôpôh=ku.*
 UO-urinate-LOC=3.N.SUBJ cloth=1.POSS
 'He pissed on my clothing.' (i.e. 'He (i.e. a child) pissed and it got onto my clothing.')
- b. *I-p-oncos-i=é* *umah ni paké=a.*
 UO-CAUS2-urinate-LOC=3.N.SUBJ house POSS 3.PL=that
 'He pissed on their house.' (i.e. 'He deliberately pissed onto their house.')

9.5 Facilitative circumfix: *peti...-(n)en*

The circumfix *peti...-(n)en* is not productive and derives only a small number of verbs. It is attached to some intransitive and transitive verb roots to derive transitive verbs. It signals a 'facilitative' meaning, where the actor brings about a state of affairs whereby the undergoer is made able to perform the action referred to by the verb root. The fact that the meaning of the affix involves the undergoer having control over the action means that this circumfix never attaches to stative verbs or verbs denoting uncontrolled actions. Derivations bearing this circumfix are used only by older speakers of Gayo and are unfamiliar to many younger speakers.

With intransitive roots, *peti...-(n)en* signals that the actor enables the undergoer to carry out the action described by the verb. Examples include *i-pet-inum-en* 'give water (i.e. to cattle)' (*m-inum* 'drink'), *i-pet-urum-en* 'herd together' (*m-urum* 'gather'), and *i-pet-angas-an* 'serve, give betelnut' (*m-angas* 'chew betel'):

- (9-99) *Ku-pet-inum-en kaming=a.*
 UO.1-FACIL-drink goat=that
 'I'll give that goat some water.' (*m-inum* 'drink')
- (9-100) *Gëre i-pet-angas-an=è pè kite.*
 not UO-FACIL-chew.betel=3.N.SUBJ also/even we.INCL
 'They didn't serve us well, they give us betelnut to chew.' (*m-angas* 'chew betelnut') (Melalatoa 1982:8)

With transitive roots, *peti...-(n)en* also signals that the actor enables the undergoer to perform the action referred to by the root. Examples include *i-pet-èngon-en* 'show unknown information such as a future event or the cause of an illness by means of sorcery' (*i-èngon* 'see'), *i-peti-betih-en* 'introduce (people to each other)' (*i-betih* 'know'), *i-peti-siwe-n* 'lease out (e.g. a house)' (*i-siwe* 'rent'), and *i-peti-singah-an* 'get someone to visit' (*i-singah* 'visit'):

- (9-101) *Te-tue be-cerak, mu-peti-betih-en si si abang.*
 RED-old MID-talk AO-FACIL-know who REL older.brother
 'An old person spoke, making known who the older brothers were.' (IK:124)
- (9-102) *Penyakét=é nge i-pet-èngon-en ku kurik.*
 INSTR:sick=3.POSS already UO-FACIL-see to chicken
 '(What) his sickness (was), was shown on a chicken.'⁴ (Melalatoa 1982:84)

⁴ Diagnosing illness is often done by a *guru* 'shaman' by looking at items such as an orange or a chicken, and divining meanings or signs from them.

Those forms listed in this section are the only derivations in use by Gayo speakers. Hazeu (1907) provides many examples of verbs derived with *peti*...-(*n*)*en*, which were not recognised by modern-day speakers. Consider examples (9-103) and (9-104):

- (9-103) *I-pet-osah*=è *gulé ku kucing*.
 UO-FACIL-give=3.N.SUBJ fish to cat
 'S/he gave the fish to the cat.' (*i-osah* 'give') (Hazeu 1907:578)
- (9-104) *I-pet-inget-en*=*ko* *pè ku wè*.
 UO-FACIL-remember=2.N.SUBJ also/even to 3
 'Remind him/her.' (*(i-)inget* 'remember') (Hazeu 1907:290)

Part IV:
Phrase structure

10 *Noun phrases*

In this chapter nouns and the structure of the noun phrase (NP) are described. The criteria that establish nouns as a major word class were described in detail in §4.2. The NP in Gayo has the structure outlined in Figure 10-1. Each element in brackets represents a slot within the NP.

NP =	{MEAS}	HEAD	{POSS}	{DES}	{DET}	{APP}
------	--------	------	--------	-------	-------	-------

Figure 10-1: The structure of the NP

This means that the NP contains an obligatory head preceded by an optional measure slot, and is followed by optional possessive, descriptive, determiner, and apposition slots. Examples (10-1) to (10-3) are examples of complex NPs:

- (10-1) *uten si lues=a*
 forest REL wide=that
 (HEAD (DES) (DET))
 ‘the wide forest’ (IK:45)
- (10-2) *engi=é, Peteri Melélacanu*
 younger.sibling=3.POSS princess Melélacanu
 (HEAD (POSS) (APP))
 ‘her younger sister, princess Melélacanu’ (IK:166)
- (10-3) *pucuk ni bur si atas=ni*
 peak POSS mountain REL high=this
 (HEAD (POSS) (DES) (DET))
 ‘the peak of this high mountain’

NPs are often embedded within other NPs. Consider examples (10-4) and (10-5):

- (10-4) *geral ni kekēberen=te=ni*
 name POSS folk.tale=our.INCL=this
 (HEAD ((POSS) (HEAD (POSS) (DET))))
 ‘the name of this folk-tale’
- (10-5) *sara cerite ari awah ni jema tue*
 one story from mouth POSS person old
 (MEAS (HEAD (DES) ((HEAD ((POSS) (HEAD (DES))))))
 ‘a story from the mouth of an old person’

In the following sections I discuss each slot within the NP. The description begins with a description of the NP head, followed by each modifying element in order of distance from its head.

10.1 The NP head

The head of a NP can be represented by a noun from one of a number of subclasses. Apart from common nouns, which were described in §4.2, four other subclasses of nouns can be distinguished in Gayo: names and titles (§10.1.1), pronouns (§10.1.2), local nouns (§10.1.3) and measure nouns (§10.1.4).

10.1.1 Names and titles

In Gayo society the name a person was given at birth is as a rule never used as term of address, and is typically known to very few people. Instead of a personal name other address terms are used. People are referred to by their social position, teknonym, kin relationship, or nickname. A number of titles are used for second or third person reference. Some of these are no longer in common use:

<i>haji/hajiah</i>	male/female who has undertaken the pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>rėje</i>	domain lord, king, male royalty. This is still used before names of male descendents of Gayo aristocracy, e.g. <i>Rėje Seman</i> 'King Usman' (M/BI: <i>raja</i> 'king').
<i>datok</i> or <i>tok</i>	respectful title used for elderly men or women. The term <i>tok</i> may be used along with the the name of an elderly person i.e. <i>Tok Salman</i>
<i>séh</i>	religious scholar, a sheikh
<i>céh</i>	<i>didong</i> poetry master (§1.1.5)
<i>tengku</i>	religious scholar, head of a <i>pesantren</i> ; also a respectful term of address for an older person, 'sir'. (Malay: <i>tenkgu</i> , Acehnese: <i>teungku</i>)
<i>toké</i>	trader, a Chinese

A number of titles are no longer in common use, but are often heard in folk tales. They reflect obsolete political or social institutions:

<i>peteri</i>	female royalty; princess (M/BI: <i>puteri</i> ; Acehnese: <i>putri</i>) ¹
<i>seltan</i>	sultan, ruler (M/BI/Acehnese: sultan < Arabic 'ruler')
<i>ampun</i>	address to <i>rėje</i> 'sire' (lit. 'mercy')
<i>cik</i>	title for head of a clan, an <i>ulubalang</i> ²
<i>siah</i>	ruler, shah (M/BI/Acehnese <i>syah</i> < Persian <i>shah</i>)

¹ The corresponding *putera* 'prince' in M/BI does not occur in Gayo.

² *ulubalang*: the chief of a clan or district (Acehnese: *ulëebalang*).

The Malay / Bahasa Indonesia terms of address *bapa* (M/BI *bapak*) 'father' and *ibu* 'mother' are also used as polite terms to people that are older or are of a higher status than the speaker. These are increasingly being used by children to address their parents in the place of *ama* 'father' and *ine* 'mother', with the growing influence of Bahasa Indonesia. The forms *Pa* (M/BI *Pak*) 'Mr', and *Bu* 'Mrs' are used as titles. These precede a given name, e.g. *Pa' Salman*. People are typically addressed by their kin title. Appendix D contains a survey of kin terms in Gayo.

Nicknames or pet names are often used between siblings or by parents to their children. These often clipped forms of stative verbs that refer to a distinguishing physical attribute. Some commonly used nicknames are as follows:

<i>onot</i>	'shorty' i.e. someone who is short (<i>konot</i> 'short')
<i>ucak</i>	'shorty', i.e. someone who is short (<i>kucak</i> 'small')
<i>utih</i>	'whitey', i.e. someone with fair skin (<i>putih</i> 'white')
<i>item</i>	'blacky', i.e. someone with dark skin (<i>item</i> 'black')

10.1.2 Pronouns

Pronouns are a closed class of nouns, and are distinguished from other nouns by the fact that they code person and number. The pronouns were introduced in §4.2.2.3 and were listed in Table 4-1, which is repeated in Table 10-1.

Table 10-1: Pronouns

	Independent pronouns	Independent possessive pronouns	Possessive enclitics	Actor N.SUBJ	U/goer N.SUBJ
Sg. 1	<i>aku</i>	<i>nenong, nong</i>	<i>=(ng)ku</i> ³	<i>ku-</i>	<i>=aku</i>
2	<i>ko</i>	<i>ningko</i>	<i>=mu</i>	<i>=ko</i>	<i>=ko</i>
3	<i>wè</i>	<i>nisè, nihè</i>	<i>=é</i> ⁴	<i>=è</i>	<i>=è</i>
Pl. 1.INCL	<i>kite</i>		<i>=(n)te</i>	<i>kite-</i>	<i>=kite</i>
1.EXCL	<i>kami</i>			<i>kami-</i>	<i>=kami</i>
2	<i>kam</i>	<i>ningkam</i>	<i>=ma</i>	<i>=kam</i>	<i>=kam</i>
3	<i>wè, paké=a/ =ne/=ni</i> ⁵				

The functions of the different pronouns are described in the relevant sections. Independent possessive pronouns are described in §10.1.2.4, possessive enclitics in §10.3, and non-subjects in §5.2.1.1.2. Like other South-East Asian languages and unlike many European languages, rigid conventions of politeness mean that the correct use of a given term of address varies greatly in different contexts. In Gayo, kin terms are used more often

³ The nasal element of the first person singular and plural (inclusive) enclitics occurs after vowel-final bases.

⁴ The consonant in consonant-final words to which the third person possessive enclitic is attached is slightly geminate.

⁵ The third person plural pronoun *paké* is defective (§4.2.1). It can function as a pronoun only when marked by a determiner.

than pronouns when referring to first, second and third persons. Personal pronouns are typically used only in the presence of people of lower age or status, or when referring to people of lower age or status, for politeness. The following sections contain descriptions of how pronouns and other terms of address are used.

10.1.2.1 First person

The independent and various clitic forms of *aku* are the forms used to refer to oneself. When an older person speaks to a young child, the speaker refers to him/herself by their name or kin title e.g. *ama* 'father', *pôn* 'maternal uncle' (Appendix D) when they are related. If the child and the speaker are unrelated, the speaker refers to himself or herself by the terms listed in Table 10-2:

Table 10-2: Polite first person reference

Male	Female	Usage
<i>abang</i> 'older brother'	<i>aka</i> 'older sister'	speaker is around the age of an older sibling
<i>pôn</i> 'maternal uncle'	<i>ibi</i> 'maternal aunt'	speaker is around age between an older sibling and a parent
<i>ama</i> 'father'	<i>ine</i> 'mother'	speaker is around the age of parent or grandparent.

The first person plural exclusive pronoun *kami* has a deferential function. It is often used to refer to oneself when addressing someone of a high social status. This use of the first person plural pronouns is heard in ritual speech, which was traditionally used when addressing royalty. Example (10-6) contains a formula typical of the ritual *melèngkan* speech (§1.1.5):

- (10-6) *Rěje, kami-tatang-an je-jari ng=kami sepuluh ku rěje.*
 king UO.1.EXCL-raise-CAUS1 RED-finger POSS=1.PL.EXCL ten to king
 'Your highness, I raise my hands (lit. my ten fingers) to the king.'

The first person plural inclusive pronoun *kite* is often used as a second person deferential pronoun. It is used when addressing an older person, or a person of higher social status than the speaker, when the speaker wishes to avoid using a title or kinship term. The pronoun is also used as a polite form of addressing a group of people:

- (10-7) *Ulak ke kite?*
 return INT we.INCL
 'Are you going home (now)?' (The speaker is not referring to himself in this utterance.)
- (10-8) *Kedang ara kôô=nte i bur ho.*
 maybe EXIST buffalo=our.INCL LOC mountain yon
 'Are your buffaloes on that mountain? (lit. 'Perhaps our buffaloes are on that mountain.') (The speaker is a young man addressing an elderly man.)

10.1.2.2 Second person

The independent and clitic forms of *ko* are the unmarked forms used when addressing a person of an age equal to or younger than the speaker. Consider example (10-9):

- (10-9) *Kahè ko i-luah-i.*
 later 2 UO-release-LOC
 'Later you will be married off.' (Pukes)

In some contexts *ko* can specify plural reference. In such cases the pronoun is typically qualified by a measure phrase:

- (10-10) *Inget=ko bèwèn=mu, ko gelah jeroh kin nisè.*
 UO:remember=2.N.SUBJ all=2.POSS 2 let good DAT 3.POSS
 'Remember all of you, you must be good to them.' (Métun)
- (10-11) *Sara mi gelah ku-serah-an mien ku ko re-roa-n=mu.*
 one more let UO.1-surrender-CAUS1 again to 2 RED-two-NAS=2.POSS
 'I'll hand over one more to the two of you again then.' (IK:174)

When addressing someone older or of a higher social status, the addressee's title or kin term is used (Appendix D). If the speaker and the addressee are unrelated, the terms listed in Table 10-2 above can be used. For example, traditionally the *rèje* 'domain lord, king' was addressed as *ama* 'father'. In example (10-12) below, *ine* 'mother' is used to address a woman who is not related to the speaker. A young man, who had just met a poor elderly woman while walking, says:

- (10-12) *Ine, mera ke ine beluh urum aku?*
 mother want INT mother go with 1
 'Mother, would you like to go with me?'

The independent and clitic forms of *kam* are used when addressing more than one person. This form is also used by older people to address younger people as a more respectful term than *ko*. Elderly people often use *kam* when addressing a younger person who is an adult, or who has a higher social status or level of education than himself or herself, e.g. by an elderly villager to a younger person who has a government position. In Central Aceh it is considered *kasar* (rude, unrefined) to address an older person using *ko* or *kam*⁶. Examples (10-13) and (10-14) contain samples of speech that were addressed to an adult younger than the speaker:

- (10-13) *M-ayo ku akal ike kam tir pané.*
 INTR-enter to reason if 2.PL early clever
 'It makes sense that quickly you became clever (at doing it).'
 (lit. '(It) enters into reason that you were able to do it quickly.')
- (10-14) *Ino! mèh kasè pumu=ma!*
 EXCLAM finished later hand=2.PL.POSS
 'Oh dear! Your hands will be all wrecked (lit. finished)! (said by an old woman watching a younger woman operating a coconut-grating machine with one hand)

⁶ One of the distinguishing characteristics of the Central Aceh and *Lues* (*Belangkejerèn*) dialects is the fact that, in the *Lues* dialect, *kam* is used as a polite term to address people of higher age and status.

In (10-15), the use of *kam* softens a request by an elderly lady to a child:

- (10-15) *Ke mera kam n-emah awal=ku urum gadung=ku.*
 BCKGR want 2.PL AO-take banana=1.POSS and cassava=1.POSS
 ‘Would you like to get some bananas and cassava for me?’ (lit. ‘You would like to get my bananas and my cassava.’)

10.1.2.3 Third person

The independent and clitic forms of the pronoun *wè* are typically used for third person singular animate reference:

- (10-16) *Teduh wè i mersah.*
 stop 3 LOC prayer.house
 ‘He stopped at the prayer house.’

The pronoun *wè* can specify group reference, as demonstrated in (10-17):

- (10-17) *Masa Belene kite kin diré=nte wè kin diri=é.*
 era Dutch we.INCL as self=our.INCL 3 as self=3.POSS
 ‘During the Dutch (colonial) period, we kept to ourselves and they (the Dutch) kept to themselves.’

Referring to a third person with *wè* is considered impolite when the referent is of an equal or higher age or status to the speaker. In such cases, the terms listed in Table 10-3 are employed.

Table 10-3: Third person reference

<i>pong=ni</i>	‘this person’	lit. ‘this friend’ (referring to person of similar age to speaker)
<i>ama=ni</i>	‘this man’	lit. ‘this father’ (referring to male much older than the speaker)
<i>ine=ni</i>	‘this woman’	lit. ‘this mother’ (referring to female much older than the speaker)
<i>aka=ni</i>	‘this older female’	lit. ‘this older sister’ (referring to female older than the speaker)
<i>abang=ni</i>	‘this older male’	lit. ‘this older brother’ (referring to male older than the speaker)

Titles and kin terms are also used when referring to a third person who is not present, as referring to third persons with polite terms is indirectly a way of being polite to the addressee. For example in (10-18), the speaker, a young man, tells an elderly lady that his wife will be arriving the next day. Neither the speaker nor his wife are related to the addressee:

- (10-18) *Anak n=ine lang sawah.*
 offspring POSS=mother tomorrow arrive
 ‘She will come tomorrow.’ (lit. ‘The child of mother (i.e. your child) will arrive tomorrow.’)

Third person plural is specified by *paké*(=*ne*/*ni*/*a*). This noun is defective, as it requires modification by a determiner to function as a NP. The forms *paké=a*, *paké=ni*, and *paké=ne* always have plural reference, never singular reference. Indeed, Melalatoa (1982:250) defines *paké* as the third person pronoun. It is also used in compounds and complex NPs when referring to groups or types of people. Unlike *wè*, *paké* is used exclusively for human plural reference:

- (10-19) *I-èngon paké=a sine i onè genap makanan.*
 UO-see person=that earlier LOC there enough food
 'They saw that there was enough food there.' (Depik)

10.1.2.4 Independent possessive pronouns

Gayo has a set of independent possessive pronouns that do not have parallel forms in other languages of the region. These denote possession where the possessed entity is not specified, conveying the meanings 'mine', 'yours', and 'his/hers/theirs'. Unlike the possessive enclitics, these pronouns cannot convey the broader associative meanings that the possessive enclitics can. The independent possessive pronouns cannot occupy the possessive slot of a complex NP. However, the first and second person independent possessive pronouns are in some cases interchangeable with the possessive NPs *ni aku* and *ni ko* (but **ni wè*). Examples (10-20) and (10-21) contain independent possessive pronouns. Unlike possessive enclitics, they can occupy the position of head in the NP:

- (10-20) A: *Si empus ni ama?*
 where garden POSS father
 'Where is your garden?'
 B: *Nenong i atas, nisë i palôh.*
 1.POSS LOC top 3.POSS LOC downhill
 'Mine is at the top (of the hill), his is down the hill.'
 (10-21) A: *Lagu si dis pedi sejarah ni ine urum aku.*
 way REL same very history POSS mother with 1
 'Your story is very similar to mine.'
 B: *Nenong pè lagu si dis pedih urum ine.*
 1.POSS also/even way REL same very with mother
 'Mine is very similar to yours.'

Independent possessive pronouns are often followed by a noun specifying the thing that is possessed, which occupies the apposition slot of the NP (§10.6). This appositioned NP typically has an attached possessive enclitic that is coreferential with the independent possessive pronoun. Consider example (10-22):

- (10-22) *I Belang, lèn nisë pè didong=é.*
 LOC Belangkejerèn different 3.POSS also/even k.o.poetry=3.POSS
 'In Belangkejerèn their (style of) *didong* is different.' (lit. 'In Belangkejerèn, theirs their *didong* is different.')

Possessive pronouns can be used in place of independent pronouns. They are often used in this way by elderly people when addressing young people. Consider examples (10-23) and (10-24):

- (10-23)
- Sejuk ke ningko?*

cold INT 2.POSS

'Are you cold?' (lit. 'Is yours (self) cold?')

- (10-24)
- Kune kati ningko gëre penah turun k=ume?*

how so.that 2.POSS not ever descend to=rice.paddy

'Why don't you ever go down to the rice paddy?' (lit. 'Why hasn't yours ever gone down to the rice paddy?') (SLG:70)

The independent possessive pronouns can also occur within oblique argument PPs (§5.2.1.2). In (10-25), the possessive pronoun occurs within an oblique argument PP, and bears the semantic role of stimulus:

- (10-25)
- Sakét até n=ulama kin nong.*

sore liver POSS=religious.scholar DAT 1.POSS

'The religious scholars were annoyed with me.' (lit. 'The religious scholars were sore-livered toward mine.')

The possessive pronouns can also function as direct arguments or within oblique argument PPs with verbs of giving, as demonstrated in (10-26) and (10-27):

- (10-26)
- Ku-osah ningko kurik.*

UO.1-give 2.POSS chicken

'I'll give you a chicken.'

- (10-27)
- Osan=è temuluk=é kin nisè.*

(UO-)give:CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ slave=3.POSS DAT 3.POSS

'He gave his slave to him.' (SLG:30)

10.1.3 Local nouns

Local nouns are a distinct subclass of nouns, which are distinguished by the fact that they function within adjuncts of temporal or physical location. There are three different kinds of local nouns in Gayo, which are distinguished from each other on the basis of their distributional properties. They are described in the following sections.

10.1.3.1 Deictic local nouns

Deictic local nouns occur within PPs or by themselves as adjuncts of location. The deictic local nouns are listed in Table 10-4:

Table 10-4: Deictic local nouns

<i>sien</i> ⁷	'here' (place near the speaker)
<i>onè</i> ⁸	'there' (near the hearer; place just referred to)
<i>sia</i> (=sa)	'there' (away from, but within view of, the speaker and hearer)
<i>so/ho</i>	'yonder' (far from the speaker and the hearer)

⁷ In the Dëret dialect: *sinen*.

⁸ In the Dëret dialect: *sonè*.

The deictic local nouns are exemplified in (10-28) to (10-30):

- (10-28) *I sien gère delé-delé Belene=a.*
 LOC here not RED-many Dutch=that
 'Here (i.e. in the Gayo highlands) there weren't a lot of Dutch people.'
- (10-29) *I onè padi i-paré-n.*
 LOC there just UO-put-CAUS1
 'Just put (it) there.' (Melalatoa 1982:245)
- (10-30) *So ulu=é, sia gading=é.*
 yon head=3.POSS there tusk=3.POSS
 'There is its head, there are its tusks (i.e. of an elephant).' (SLG:147)

Onè 'there' is distinct from the other deictic local nouns by the fact that it also has a discourse deictic function, signalling a point of reference from earlier in a discourse. Consider example (10-31):

- (10-31) *Sawah wè ku Biren. Renyel wè m-urum urum jema i onè.*
 arrive 3 to Bireuen then 3 INTR-gather with person LOC there
 'He arrived at Bireuen. Then he got together with the people there.' (Ijô)

The deictic local nouns *onè*, *sie* and *so* (but not *sien* 'here') are preceded by the prepositions *ku* (*k=*) 'to' and *ari* 'from', forming adjuncts specifying direction 'to' or 'from' a location:

- (10-32) *Sawah wè k=onè=ne.*
 arrive 3 to=there=earlier
 'He arrived there.' (SLG:188)

The deictic local nouns occur within adjuncts of direction when they are preceded by the preposition *ku* (*k=*) 'to'. When expressing directional meanings, *ini* 'this' is used in the place of *sien* 'here' for direction to or from the location of the speaker, as demonstrated in (10-33) and (10-34):

- (10-33) *Besilô nge sawah dené ari ini ku Samarkilang.*
 now already arrive road from this to Samarkilang
 'Now (these days) the road goes from here to Samarkilang.'
- (10-34) *Gèh ari motor so k=ini.*
 come from vehicle yon to=this
 '(They) came from that car to here.'

Adjuncts of direction containing local nouns are listed in Table 10-5, and are exemplified with the preposition *ku* 'to':

Table 10-5: Deictic local nouns within adjuncts of direction

<i>ku ini</i>	'(to) here'
<i>ku son</i>	'(to) there' (any distance – spatial deixis)
<i>ku onè</i>	'(to) there' (place previously referred to – textual deixis)
<i>ku sia</i>	'(to) there' (away from, but within view of, the speaker and addressee)
<i>ku so/ku ho</i>	'(to) there (yonder)'

Son or *sonen* 'to there' specifies spatial deixis, and never textual deixis. It is used to denote movement toward a location, and only ever occurs within a PP headed by *ku* 'to'. The PP *ku son* 'to there' always specifies dynamic movement, never extent or static location:

- (10-35) *Ku son pora abang Gajah.*
to there a.little older.brother elephant
'(Move) away a little (further) brother elephant.' (Pelanuk)
- (10-36) *Minah ho-ho ku son.*
AO:move RED-there to there
'Move over there.' (SLG:84)

Often *ku son* is used to convey a meaning of movement in a direction, and not to any particular destination. In (10-37), *ku son* does not infer movement to any particular place, but rather movement away from the specified location:

- (10-37) *Ari Kebayakne ku son pora.*
from Kebayakan=earlier to there a.little
'(He went) from Kebayakan a little bit away.'

Hazeu (1907:861) analyses *son/sonen* as the local pronoun *so* with the comparative suffix *-(n)en* (§6.5) attached.⁹ This analysis is supported by the fact that this suffix is attached to space relational nouns (§10.1.3.3), such as *kiri* 'left' and *kuen* 'right', to signal movement:

- (10-38) *Ku kiré-n!*
to left-DIR
'To the left!'
- (10-39) *Ku kuen-en pora!*
to right-DIR a.little
'(Go) to the right a little!'

Examples (10-40) and (10-41) are further examples of this. These examples are from Asyik (1980:26):

- (10-40) *Ku geniring-en pora.*
to edge-DIR a.little
'(Move) a little toward the edge.'
- (10-41) *Ku was-an pora.*
to inside-DIR a.little
'(Move) inside a little.'

10.1.3.2 Temporal local nouns

Local nouns expressing temporal meanings, such as *soboh* 'morning', *iô* 'afternoon', and *kelem* 'night' function as temporal adjuncts by themselves. They can specify times of the day, as in examples (10-42) and (10-43):

- (10-42) *Soboh renam, Nabi turun ari umah=é.*
morning early Prophet descend from house=3.POSS
'Early in the morning, the Prophet came out of his house.' (IK:34)

⁹ He in fact analyses *son* as the 'comparative' form of *so* 'yonder'.

- (10-43) *Jem sepuluh jema mangan.*
 hour ten person AO:eat
 'At ten o'clock people eat.'

They can specify days of the week, months of the year, and years. Consider example (10-44):

- (10-44) *Aku lahir tôn due puluh tujuh.*
 I born year two ten seven
 'I was born in (nineteen) twenty seven.'

Temporal nouns can also specify the temporal duration of an event:

- (10-45) *Seng=kerat lô we jema be-buet i ume.*
 one=half day EMPH person MID-work LOC rice.paddy
 'For half a day the people work in the rice paddy.' (Melalatoa 1982:165)

Temporal nouns that specify relative time include *mané* 'yesterday', *lang* 'tomorrow', *sui* 'the day after tomorrow', and *se=lang mané* 'two days ago' (lit. 'one tomorrow yesterday'). Consider examples (10-46) and (10-47):

- (10-46) *Aku lang ulak ku Takèngen.*
 I tomorrow return to Takengon
 'I will return to Takengon tomorrow.'
- (10-47) *Lang, sui, ke ara rejeki, ku-osah ningko tèba.*
 tomorrow next.day if EXIST sustenance UO.I -give 2.POSS some
 'Tomorrow or the next day, if I get any sustenance (i.e. food etc.), I will give you some.' (Melalatoa 1982:366)

10.1.3.3 Local nouns specifying physical location or direction

Local nouns are a closed class. They occur within PPs headed by local prepositions (§10.1), and are themselves modified by a possessive phrase denoting more specific locational information. There are two kinds of local nouns of physical location or direction: space relationals (Evans 1995) and compass locations. Local nouns that convey space-relational information refine the basic spatial information specified by the local prepositions. The local nouns with space-relational meanings are listed in Table 10-6.

Table 10-6: Local nouns with space-relational meanings

<i>kiri</i>	'left'
<i>kuen</i>	'right'
<i>was</i>	'inside'
<i>dëret</i>	'outside; land, shore'
<i>atas</i>	'top'
<i>tuyuh</i>	'bottom'
<i>arap</i>	'place in front'
<i>kôdôk</i>	'place behind'
<i>serap</i>	'side'
<i>geniring</i>	'edge'
<i>ujung</i>	'tip'
<i>semelah, lah</i>	'middle'

These nouns can occur by themselves within local PPs (§11.1), expressing more specific locational information. Consider examples (10-48) and (10-49):

- (10-48) *Ku-ayo-nen oya ku was.*
 UO.1-enter-CAUS1 that to inside
 'I put that inside.'
- (10-49) *Wè pè turun ari atan umah=a.*
 3 also/even descend from top:POSS house=that
 'He came down from the top of that house.' (IK:92)

Local nouns that specify space-relational information can be modified by possessive NP that denotes the whole of which the referent of the local noun is a part. With a modifying possessive NP, the space-relational noun does not require a preposition in order to function as a local adjunct. This is demonstrated in (10-50) and (10-51):

- (10-50) *Jep kelem kunul aku i wan¹⁰ umah so.*
 every evening sit 1 LOC inside:POSS house yon
 'Every evening I sit inside that house.'
- (10-51) *Tempat be-beru atan umah.*
 place RED-girl top:POSS house
 'The girls' place is at the top of the house.' (IK:102)

Space-relational nouns must occur within a PP modified by a preposition if they are not modified by a possessive NP. Consider (10-52a and b):

- (10-52) a. *Ama kunul i was.*
 father sit LOC inside
 'Father is sitting inside.'
- b. **Ama kunul was.*
 father sit inside
 ('Father is sitting inside.')

Other local nouns in Gayo specify direction. The Gayo people use compass directions which are borrowed from Malay: *utara* 'north', *selatan* 'south', *barat* 'west', and *timur* 'east'. Consider example (10-53):

- (10-53) *Renyel mu-ling terompèt pembangkiten, ari timur ku*
 then INTR-sound trumpet wakening from east to
barat, ari utara ku selatan.
 west from north to south
 'Then the wakening trumpet will sound, from east to west, from north to south.' (IK:43)

In traditional Gayo society, a two-way distinction was made only between east and west. The following terms are used less often than the Malay borrowings these days:

¹⁰ When the local nouns *was* and *atas* occur with a modifying possessive phrase containing *ni*, the word-final *a* becomes *u*, evidence of the close bond between these local nouns and possessive phrases.

mata n=lô m-urip
 eye POSS=day INTR-live
 'east' (lit. the sun lives)

ilup-en
 set(sun)-NOM
 'west' (lit. 'sunset')

In Gayo, as is common in traditionally landlocked societies, the most frequently employed directional terms reflect the local geography (Adelaar 1997). As the Gayo region is a mountainous, inland region, the most useful directional terms refer to the uphill/downhill and upstream/downstream oppositions: *uken* 'upstream', *toa* 'downstream', *palôh* 'downhill' and *atas* 'uphill, up':

- (10-54) *Aku beluh mulo ku uken ho.*
 1 go first to upstream yon
 'I'm going upstream.'

10.1.4 Measure nouns

Measure nouns constitute a semi-open class. They function as the heads of number phrases (§10.2.1), and are used to measure extent, volume, time and quantities of substances. Measure nouns are typically modified by a numeral (§4.4.3), with the whole phrase in turn modifying the head of a complex NP. In contrast with numerals alone, which typically occupy the measure slot preceding their head, complex number phrases typically follow their head:

- (10-55) [*Oros [sara guni]_{NP}*]_{NP}
 uncooked.rice one sack
 'A sack of rice.'

Some measure nouns denote collections of things, while others are names of containers. Many measure nouns, such as those denoting standard weights and measures, only ever occur within measure phrases:

- (10-56) *Oros sara tém sara paké, poa lime aré.*
 uncooked.rice one tém¹¹ one person salt five aré
 'One *tém* of rice per person, (and) five *aré* of salt.' (SLG:61)

A single unit of a measure noun is marked by a preceding *sara* 'one', or one of two clitic forms of this: *se(r)-* or *se n=*.¹² The choice of singular numeral clitics is lexically determined. Measure nouns that cannot be used as the head of a NP typically take a clitic numeral specifying 'one'. Measure nouns that are more recently borrowed into the language, such as the metric weights and lengths, are counted with the independent numeral *sara* 'one'. Appendix C contains a comprehensive list of measure nouns in Gayo.

¹¹ Gayo measurements are listed in Appendix C.

¹² The nasal element is possibly a reflex of an earlier linking particle or ligature (cf. Foley 1976).

10.2 Measure slot

Measure phrases are the only NP modifiers that can precede their head. I refer to the position immediately before the head as ‘measure slot’. A measure phrase can be represented by a quantifier (§4.4.4), as in (10-57), or a number phrase (§10.2.1), as in (10-58). In these examples the measure phrases are in **bold**.

- (10-57) *Kahè i sien delé kule.*
 later LOC here many tiger
 ‘Later on there will be many tigers here.’ (IK:64)

- (10-58) *Sara kapal i-tirô jema=wa.*
 one ship UO-request person=that
 ‘One ship was requested by that person.’ (SLG:167)

Although measure phrases typically occupy the measure slot, which precedes the head of the NP, they can also follow their head, and can be separated from their head by another constituent, i.e. ‘float’. The position of measure phrases with regard to their head is discussed in §10.2.3. Number phrases and quantifiers are described in turn in the following sections.

10.2.1 Number phrases

Number phrases are measure phrases that are represented by a numeral, or a measure noun that is quantified by a numeral. Number phrases have the following structure:

Number Phrase = {Numeral (Measure Noun)}

Unlike related languages such as Acehnese and Bahasa Indonesia, Gayo nouns are modified by a number without a classifier. Examples (10-59) and (10-60) contain NPs with number phrases represented by numerals. (The NPs containing number phrases are in **bold**.)

- (10-59) *Ara sara mersah i onè.*
 EXIST one prayer.house LOC there
 ‘There was a prayer house there.’ (Ijô)
- (10-60) *Ara roa jema ari Negeri Gayô be-dagang.*
 EXIST two person from region Gayo MID-travel
 ‘There were two people from Gayo (who were) travelling.’

Complex number phrases typically follow their head, as demonstrated in (10-61) and (10-62):

- (10-61) *rom sara tangké*
 rice.plant one bunch
 ‘a bunch of rice plants (i.e. tied in a bunch)’
- (10-62) *ume sara tempéh*
 rice.paddy one area.of.paddy
 ‘one area of rice paddy’

They can also precede their head, as in (10-63):

- (10-63) *sara belanga kôl jantar-dengké*
 one cooking.pot big vegetable-meat
 'a big cooking pot of vegetables' (IK:53)

Alternatively, a numeral can occur NP-initially, with the measure noun functioning as the head of a NP, and the quantified entity occurring within a possessive phrase (§10.3):

- (10-64) *sara tangké ni rom*
 one bunch POSS rice.plant
 'a bunch of rice plants'
- (10-65) *sara tempéh ni ume*
 one area.of.paddy POSS rice.paddy
 'one (area of) rice paddy'

Measure nouns denoting standardised measurements or weights do not follow this pattern:

- (10-66) *roa aré (*ni) cibit*
 two aré POSS edible.fungus
 'two aré of edible fungus'

10.2.2 Modification of number phrases

Number phrases can be modified by the particles *mi* 'more', as in (10-67); and *padih/dih* 'just, only' (§12.4.1.4), as in (10-68):

- (10-67) *Tulu lô mi i-tos=è suret.*
 three day more UO-make=3.N.SUBJ letter
 'Three days later he wrote a letter.'
- (10-68) *Sara kelang padih ku-terime.*
 one pile just UO.1-receive
 'I have received just one pile.' (IK:174)

Number phrases can also be modified by the adverb *kire-kire* 'approximately', as in (10-69):

- (10-69) *Beluh mien nge ara kire-kire sepuluh depa.*
 go again already EXIST approximately ten fathom
 '(He) went again about ten fathoms.' (Pelanuk)

10.2.3 Floating measure phrases

As we have seen, a measure phrase can either precede or follow its head. Following their head, the measure phrases can be separated from their head by another constituent, typically an adjunct. This is often referred to as 'quantifier float' (Kroeger 1993). Floating measure phrases can be launched from a NP that is a subject, as demonstrated in (10-70), or a non-subject, as demonstrated in (10-71):

- (10-70) *Osah Tengku mi seruel tue ni Tengku kin aku sara.*
 (UO-)give sir SOF trousers old POSS sir DAT I one
 'Please sir give a pair of your old trousers to me.' (SLG:47)

- (10-71) *Aku mun-osah emas kin tengku sara bongkil.*
 1 AO-give gold DAT sir one lump
 'I will give you a lump of gold, sir.' (SLG:47)

10.3 Possessive slot

The term 'possessive' describes constructions which denote a close relationship between two nouns. Possession can involve a relationship where the referent of one noun possesses the referent of the other noun, i.e. 'true possession'. The term also describes a number of other kinds of relationships, e.g. kin relationships, part-whole relationships, and componential relationships. The term 'possessive' is used here to refer to a structural designation of modification of one noun by a possessive NP. The possessive slot of a complex NP can be occupied by a possessive pronominal enclitic (§10.1.2), as demonstrated in (10-72):

- (10-72) *geral=é*
 name=3.POSS
 'his/her name'

Or it can be occupied by an independent NP that is marked by the possessive particle *ni*, as in (10-73). *Ni* is treated here as a ligature that signals that the following noun is possessive:

- (10-73) *anak ni Seltan Genali*
 offspring POSS Sultan Genali
 'the child of Sultan Genali'

10.3.1 Formal properties of *ni*

The possessive particle *ni* can be cliticised to the NP it precedes. With V-initial nouns following, *ni* can be realised as *n=*, as demonstrated in (10-74):

- (10-74) *kôrô ni ama = kêrô n=ama*
 buffalo POSS father buffalo POSS=father
 Both mean: 'father's buffalo'

When it precedes C-initial nouns, *ni* is often realised as a nasal that is homorganically assimilated to the place of articulation of the initial C of the noun that follows it. Consider examples (10-75) to (10-77):

- (10-75) *tanuk ni kêrô = tanuk ng=kêrô*
 horn POSS buffalo horn POSS=buffalo
 Both mean: 'a buffalo's horn'
- (10-76) *pucuk ni bur = pucuk m=bur*
 peak POSS mountain peak POSS=mountain
 Both mean: 'the peak of a mountain'
- (10-77) *empus ni jema = empus n=jema*
 garden POSS person garden POSS=person
 Both mean: 'a person's garden, somebody's garden'

Possessive NPs can be embedded within one another, as demonstrated in (10-78):

- (10-78) *I kôdôk [ni bekas [ni asu=a]].*
 LOC back POSS track POSSdog=that
 'Behind the tracks of the dog' (lit. 'At the back of the tracks of the dog.')
 (SLG:60)

When space-relational nouns (§10.1.3.3) that end with *s*, i.e. *atas* 'top' and *was* 'inside', are modified by a possessive phrase, the final *s* of the noun is replaced with *n*. The presence of *ni* is optional. Consider examples (10-79) and (10-80):

- (10-79) *atas ni bur = atan (ni) bur*
 top POSS mountain top:POSS POSS mountain
 'top of the mountain'
- (10-80) *was ni umah = wan (ni) umah*
 inside POSS house inside:POSS POSS house
 'inside the house'

The relationship between the head of the NP and the possessive NP is typically one of true possession, but also extends to broader associative relationships. The semantic relationships between the possessive NP and the NP head are surveyed in §10.3.2.

10.3.2 Semantic relationships between possessive phrases and the NP head

The possessive particle *ni* has cognates in many other Austronesian languages. Blust (1974) reconstructs this as PAN **ni* 'genitive marker'. The possessive relationship can involve two kinds of semantic relationships: true possession and broader association. Dixon (1988) labels the particle *ni* in Fijian, which has similar functions to its cognate in Gayo, as an 'associative marker'. He (1988:124) describes the relationship between the head of the NP and the noun marked by *ni* thus: '*Ni* links together two NPs, either of which can consist of just a noun; and it is most appropriately glossed not by "of", but "associated with"'.

The nature of the relationship between the referent of the NP head and the possessive phrase is determined by the semantics of the two nouns in the possessive relationship and context. For example, the possessive NPs in (10-81) both contain the noun *rayoh* 'blood'. In (10-81a), the relationship is one of inalienable possession, while in (10-81b) the relationship is one of association and not true possession:

- (10-81) a. *Rayoh=é tengah mu-sempur.*
 blood=3.POSS CONT INTR-squirt
 'His blood is squirting out.'
- b. *Pedang=ne, ke nge ilang rayoh=é.*
 sword=earlier BCKGR already red blood=3.POSS
 'The sword, the blood on it was red.' (lit. 'The sword, its blood was red.')
 (SLG:142)

The relationship of true possession is distinguished from association by the fact that possessive relationships can also be paraphrased as verbal possessive constructions, i.e. in non-controlled *mu-* derivations (§6.4). For example, the elements of the NP containing a possessive phrase in (10-82a) can also be expressed verbally, as in (10-82b):

- (10-82) a. *umah ni Ali*
house POSS Ali
'Ali's house'
- b. *Ali nge m-umah.*
Ali already INTR-house
'Ali has a house.'

The associative functions of *ni* cannot be paraphrased in this way. Consider (10-83a-b):

- (10-83) a. *Ini sara cerite ni pelanuk ...*
this one story POSS mousedeer
'This is a story of a mousedeer ...' (Pelanuk)
- b. **Pelanuk=ni nge mu-cerite.*
mousedeer=this already INTR-story
'(This mousedeer has a story.)'

Possessive phrases signal two other functions that are described in other places in this grammar. They can refer to the single participant in a verbal nominalisation (§4.3.3), and they can specify a benefactive participant in a three-participant clause (§8.2.1).

In the following sections I survey the semantic relationships between the possessive NP and the head noun it modifies. These are divided into possessive relations and then broader associative relationships.

10.3.2.1 True possession

The relationships described in the following are of true possession, i.e. the same relationships can be expressed by means of verbal possession, as demonstrated above. These may include a relationship of ownership:

- (10-84) *umah ni anan*
house POSS grandmother
'grandmother's house'
- (10-85) *honda=ma*
motorbike=2.PL.POSS
'your motorbike'

Possession can involve kin relationships:

- (10-86) *ama=ngku*
father=1.POSS
'my father'
- (10-87) *anak ni kôrô*
offspring POSS buffalo
'buffalo calf'

It can also specify part-whole relationships:

- (10-88) *tanuk ni kôrô*
horn POSS buffalo
'horn of a buffalo'

- (10-89) *kuring ni kule*
 marking POSS tiger
 'stripes of a tiger'

Plants and their parts are also expressed in the possessive relationship:

- (10-90) *uah ni lukup*
 fruit POSS wild.mango
 'fruit of a wild manggo, a wild mango fruit'
- (10-91) *cabang ni kayu*
 branch POSS tree
 'branch of a tree, a tree-branch'

Finally, the relationship can be one of control or use of an entity:

- (10-92) *bako=ngku*
 tobacco=1.POSS
 'my tobacco'
- (10-93) *uer ni kude*
 stable POSS horse
 'horse's stable'

10.3.2.2 Associative function of the possessive

The possessive relationship can express meanings of association. Such relationships can involve a relationship where entities are inherently associated with one another:

- (10-94) *jëwep ni soal*
 answer POSS question
 'answer to a question' (IK:150)
- (10-95) *sarung ni parang*
 sheath POSS machete
 'sheath for a machete'

They can also involve componential relationships, where the referent of the head noun is 'made up of' the possessed entity:

- (10-96) *inih ni kacang*
 seedling POSS bean
 'bean seedlings'
- (10-97) *empus ni awal*
 garden POSS banana
 'banana garden/plantation'

Componential relationships can also involve possessive NPs modifying measure nouns, i.e. nouns denoting collections of entities (§10.1.4).

- (10-98) *sara rôn ni manuk*
 one group POSS bird
 'a flock of birds'

- (10-99) *sara belang ni s[en]uen*
 one field POSS NOM-plant
 'field of plants'

The associative relationship can involve representations (e.g. stories, pictures, statues) and what they represent:

- (10-100) *kekëberen ni anak yatim i Madinah*
 folktale POSS child orphan LOC Madinah
 'a tale of the orphans in Madinah' (IK:34)
- (10-101) *gambar ni gajah*
 picture POSS elephant
 'picture of an elephant'

Many NPs containing a possessive NP are lexicalised forms expressing metaphorical relationships. Consider examples (10-102) to (10-104):

- (10-102) *ine ni pumu*
 mother POSS hand
 'thumb' (lit. 'mother of the hand')
- (10-103) *ine ni kunci*
 mother POSS key/lock
 'lock' (lit. 'mother of a key')
- (10-104) *anak ni kunci*
 offspring POSS key/lock
 'key' (lit. 'child of a lock')

Particularly common is the use of complex NPs modified by possessive NPs that are headed by the noun *mata* 'eye'. This is generally used to denote some important feature associated with the referent of the noun. (10-105) to (10-107) are examples:

- (10-105) *mata ni lô*
 eye POSS day
 'sun' (lit. 'eye of the day')
- (10-106) *mata ni kik*
 eye POSS fishing.pole
 'fish-hook' (lit. 'eye of a fishing pole')
- (10-107) *mata ni pen-urip*
 eye POSS INSTR-live
 'means of subsistence' (lit. 'eye of that which keeps one alive')

With nominalisations derived by the instrumental prefix *pen-* (§4.2.3.1) and the undergoer nominalising circumfix *pen-...-(n)en* (§4.2.3.5), a modifying possessive NP with inanimate reference can specify an undergoer participant. Consider examples (10-108) and (10-109):

- (10-108) *pen-iup ni rara*
 INST-blow POSS fire
 'blowing pipe for a fire' [a hollow piece of bamboo for blowing on fire]

- (10-109) *penèlong-en ni empus*
 U.NOM:burn POSS garden
 'burnt part of a garden' (i.e. after a bushfire)

A possessive phrase with animate reference typically specifies a possessor:

- (10-110) *pen-iup=é*
 INSTR-blow=3.POSS
 'his/her blowing pipe (for a fire)'

With derivations marked by the undergoer nominalising circumfix *pen-...-(n)en*, a modifying possessive phrase can denote an actor participant in the state of affairs described by the base:

- (10-111) *pen-jelbang-n=é*
 U.NOM-hoe=3.POSS
 'his hoeing' (i.e. 'the hoeing that he did')

10.3.3 Reciprocal possession

In sentences containing two NPs in a mutually possessive relationship, typically kin relations, each of the NPs may take a possessive enclitic, referring to the relationship between each of the entities, as demonstrated in (10-112):

- (10-112) *Enti harap anak=é be-semiang ike ama=é*
 don't (UO-)hope offspring=3.POSS MID-pray if father=3.POSS
gëre be-semiang.
 not MID-pray
 'Don't hope that the child will perform the daily prayers if his father doesn't pray.'

10.3.4 Embedding of possessives

Possessive phrases can be embedded within one another. The level of embedding is typically no more than two deep, as in (10-113):

- (10-113) [*uak [ni mata [ni rēje]]*]
 medicine POSS eye POSS king
 'medicine for the king's eyes' (SLG:183)

Example (10-114) contains the deepest level of embedding within a single NP found in the corpus, containing three possessive phrases within a single NP:

- (10-114) [*kiri [ni mét [ni ama[=é]]]*]
 left POSS corpse POSS father=3.POSS
 'the left side of the corpse of her father'

10.3.5 The possessive noun *empu*

Possession can also be expressed with the possessive noun *empu*, which functions as the head of a NP. With a modifying possessive phrase that has animate reference, this noun

can mean 'property, possession' and typically functions as the predicate within an equative clause (§5.1.1). Consider examples (10-115) and (10-116):

- (10-115) *Oya le empu ni polan.*
 that FOC property POSS what's.his.name
 'That belongs to what's-his-name.' (lit. 'That is the property of what's-his-name.')
- (10-116) *Bèwèn=é empu=é.*
 all=3.POSS property=3.POSS
 'Everything belongs to him.' (lit. 'Everything is his property.')

Conversely, this noun can also specify a meaning of 'owner, possessor', as demonstrated in (10-117) and (10-118):

- (10-117) *Empu ni uten=ni, sahan oya?*
 owner POSS forest=this who that
 'The owner of this forest, who is it?' (IK:52)
- (10-118) *Tanoh=ni, aku empu=é.*
 land=this 1 owner=3.POSS
 'I own this land.' (lit. 'This land, I am its owner.')

10.4 Descriptive slot

Following the possessive slot of a NP is the descriptive slot. The descriptive slot is typically occupied by a relative clause (§14), which is introduced by the relativising conjunction *si*. Consider examples (10-119) and (10-120):

- (10-119) *kumpu=é si mu-rantô jëmen*
 grandchild=3.POSS REL AO-coast long.ago
 'her grandchild who went travelling long ago' (Ijô)
- (10-120) *jema si kaya=wa*
 person REL wealthy=that
 'that wealthy person'

With shorter relative clauses, typically those represented by a single verb, *si* is often unexpressed:

- (10-121) *jema (si) mangan*
 person REL AO:eat
 'people (who are) eating'
- (10-122) *uten (si) lues*
 forest REL wide
 'wide forest'

When a descriptive element occurs in conjunction with a possessive phrase, the descriptive phrase follows the possessive phrase, as demonstrated in (10-123) and (10-124):

- (10-123) *anak=mu si paling kukak*
 offspring=2.POSS REL most small
 'your youngest child'

- (10-124) *serdadu ni Belene si ara i Kute Takèngen*
 soldier POSS Dutch REL EXIST LOC town Takengon
 'the Dutch soldiers who are in Takengon' (IK:100)

10.5 Determiner slot

The determiner slot can be occupied by either a demonstrative (§4.4.5), or the temporal adverb *sine/=ne* 'earlier' (§4.4.1.1). The demonstratives and the temporal adverb *sine/=ne* can modify the head of a NP simultaneously. While the demonstrative pronouns may mark both spatial and textual deixis, *sine/=ne* specifies only textual deixis. Clitic determiners always occur as the last element of a NP (other than an appositional phrase). The determiners are described in turn in the following sections.

10.5.1 Demonstratives as determiners

The determiner slot of a complex NP can be occupied by a determiner, which may be expressed as either the clitic or free forms of the demonstrative. All of the demonstratives can be used to signal spatial deixis. The demonstratives *ini* 'this' and *oya* 'that' can also be used to specify textual deixis. The demonstratives are listed in Table 10-7.

Table 10-7: Demonstratives

Independent form	Clitic form	Meaning
<i>ini</i>	= <i>ni</i>	'this (close to the speaker)'
<i>oya</i>	= <i>a</i>	'that (distal from speaker)'
<i>sia</i>	= <i>sa</i>	'there (distal from speaker and addressee)'
<i>so, ho</i>		'yonder (far, out of view of speaker and addressee)'

Examples (10-125) and (10-126) contain NPs whose determiner slots are occupied by demonstratives. The demonstratives were described in detail in §4.4.5. In the following examples the NPs that contain determiners are in **bold**.

- (10-125) *Ara se-sana terjadi ku atas **be-beru=ni**.*
 EXIST RED-what happen to top RED-girl=this
 'Something happened to this girl.' (IK:102)
- (10-126) *Agén ku atan **kayu ini** mi bang aku.*
 better to top:POSS tree this SOF UNC I
 'It's better that I (go) to the top of this tree.' (SLG:85)

10.5.2 The adverb *sine/=ne* 'earlier' as a determiner

The adverb *sine/=ne* 'earlier' (§4.4.1.1) can occupy the determiner slot of a complex NP. In contrast with the demonstrative pronouns, *sine/=ne* signals only discourse deixis, never

spatial deixis. This adverb marks NPs whose referent is topical, i.e. accessible to the interlocutor. This is demonstrated in examples (10-127) and (10-128):

- (10-127) *Nge demu musang=ne si munuruh-ni kurik=ne.*
 already found civet.cat=earlier REL AO:show-CAUS1 chicken=earlier
 'It's true that (we) found the civet-cat which showed the chicken.' (SLG:132)
- (10-128) *I-èngon=è ku kôdôk, manat=ne gère ngôk n-èngon ...*
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ to back instruction=earlier not can AO-see
 'She looked back. The instruction was that (she) shouldn't look ...' (Pukes)

Example (10-129) was uttered by a woman in surprise when she saw a familiar face after a long period of separation. In this context, *=ne* signals that the referent of the head noun is known to the speaker, not that the referent was mentioned in a preceding discourse context:

- (10-129) *Ali=ne nge gèh!*
 Ali=earlier already come
 'Ali has come (here)!' (i.e. 'Ali, the one that you (and I) know, has come!')

In (10-130), the demonstrative *oya/=a* 'that' introduces a participant into a narrative that is familiar to the speaker and interlocutor, i.e. Solomon, but has not been previously mentioned in the context of the current discourse. After the initial introduction into the narrative, all subsequent references are marked with *sine/=ne*:

- (10-130) *Ari Sulaiman=a doa ng=guru. Renyel, wè urum*
 from Sulaimon=that spell POSS=shaman then 3 with
Kabut. Kabut=ni ke rëje ni jén. Renyel,
 Kabut Kabut=this BCKGR king POSS spirit then
Suléman=ne mu-demu-i Kabut ...
 Sulaiman=earlier AO-meet-LOC Kabut
 'The spells of shamans are from Sulaiman. He was with Kabut.
 This Kabut was a king in the spirit world, Sulaiman (went) looking for
 Kabut ...'

In (10-131), the determiner *=ne* is used without preceding mention of the NP referent it modifies. In this case, it is used to mark a recurring character common to folk tales, 'the fabled widow'.

- (10-131) *Pède sara waktu jema balu=ne ber-ume.*
 at one time person widow=earlier MID-paddy
 'Once upon a time a (certain) widow was working in the rice paddy.' (SLG:76)

In some cases, there may be some ambiguity as to whether *sine/=ne* functions as a determiner or as an adverb. For example, in (10-132), *=ne* may have scope over the noun to which it is attached, i.e. *asu* 'dog', in which case it may be referring to a dog which has been previously mentioned or a specific dog in the interlocutor's mind. If the scope of the adverb were over the entire clause, it would convey a meaning that the event occurred at some time in the recent past.

- (10-132) *Oya pangan asu=ne.*
 that (UO-)eat dog=earlier
 'The dog ate it (earlier).' (SLG:60)

This ambiguity is also demonstrated in examples (10-133) and (10-134):

- (10-133) *I-kunul-en i atan kersi wè=ne.*
 UO-sit-CAUS1 LOC top:POSS chair 3=earlier
 'He sat (it) on top of the chair (earlier).'

- (10-134) *Nge i-jerang=è kerô=ne.*
 already UO-cook=3.N.SUBJ rice=earlier
 'He cooked the rice earlier.' (Depik)

Although the adverb *sine/=ne* can function as a determiner, clauses in which it occurs cannot contain another temporal adverb, even when *sine/=ne* functions as a determiner. Consider example (10-135):

- (10-135) **I-osah=ko ke sèn=ne ku ama mané.*
 UO-give=2.N.SUBJ BCKGR money=earlier to father yesterday
 ('You gave the money to father yesterday.')

10.5.3 Co-occurrence of the demonstratives and *sine/=ne*

The adverb *sine/=ne* can occur in conjunction with a demonstrative functioning as a determiner. In such cases, *sine/=ne* functions as a temporal adverbial, not a determiner. In such cases, only the demonstrative pronoun has a determining function:

- (10-136) *I-èngon=è ilang mien rara i Serule=ni=ne.*
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ red again fire LOC Serule=this=earlier
 'He saw that the fires were burning again in Serule.'
- (10-137) *Itik=é maté i-roroh-ni Kil Lokot=ni=ne.*
 duck=3.POSS die UO-tread-CAUS1 Kil Lokot=this=earlier
 'His ducks were dead from Kil Lokot having trodden on them earlier.'

10.6 Apposition slot

Apposition is where two NPs with the same reference occur in juxtaposition. This is typically where further information is expressed in order to aid identification of a preceding NP. The apposition phrase supplies information that identifies the head of the NP. The apposed NP is separated from its head by a pause, represented here by a comma. Consider examples (10-138) and (10-139):

- (10-138) *Cik Serule ara jamu=é, anak ni jema.*
 TITLE Serule EXIST guest=3.POSS offspring POSS person
 'Cik Serule had a guest, a person (lit. somebody's child).'
- (10-139) *I so pè, Bebesen, ara pesanterèn.*
 LOC yon also/even Bebesen EXIST religious.school
 'There, in Bebesen, is a religious school.'

The head of the NP can be repeated in the appositional phrase, with further descriptive information added to the apposition:

- (10-140) *Sampé sè, ara bekas=é, bekas ni Merah Mège=ni.*
 until now EXIST print=3.POSS print POSS Merah Mège=this
 'Until now, there are his footprints, the footprints of Merah Mège.' (SLG:60)
- (10-141) *Nge ara buet si gëre jeroh, buet ni si tulu so.*
 already EXIST work REL not good work POSS REL three yon
 'There are some bad deeds (taking place), deeds of those three (people).'

A NP can be modified by two appositional phrases in succession:

- (10-142) *Ke gëre ara jantung n=até=wé,¹³ si banan,*
 BCKGR not EXIST heart POSS=liver=3.POSS REL woman
ine ni anak=é.
 mother POSS offspring=3.POSS
 'His sweetheart wasn't there, the wife, the mother of his children.' (Métun)
- (10-143) *Ara sara bangsa onè, bangsa asing, Cine.*
 EXIST one race there race foreign Chinese
 'There was a race of people there, a foreign race, Chinese.'

An appositional phrase can be separated from its head by a PP:

- (10-144) *Sahan ngók mun-emah=è ku Banda Acéh, gajah=a?*
 who can AO-carry=3.N.SUBJ to Banda Aceh elephant=that
 'Who is able to carry that elephant to Banda Aceh?' (Linge)

10.7 Conjoining NPs

In this section conjoined NPs are described. Coordination of units larger than the phrase is described in §16.3. NPs are conjoined by *urum* 'and'. In example (10-145), the conjoined NP functions as a subject, in (10-146) as a non-subject, and in (10-147) within a PP. In these examples the conjoined NPs are in square brackets.

- (10-145) [*Anak beru urum anak bujang*] *olok i-sayang-i*
 offspring girl and offspring boy very UO-love-LOC
wan sara keluarga.
 inside:POSS one family
 'Sons and daughters are much loved in a family.' (IK:203)
- (10-146) *Kejurun Belang mun-ara-n [pakat urum se=genap].*
 ruler Belang AO-EXIST-CAUS1 gathering and one=discussion
 'The ruler of Belang(kejerèn) held a gathering and a discussion.' (IK:110)
- (10-147) *Ara sara kejadian antara [musang urum kurik].*
 EXIST one incident between civet.cat and chicken
 'There was an incident between the civet cat and the chicken.' (SLG:130)

NPs can also be conjoined by *atawa* 'or', which can also conjoin clauses (§16.3.3). Consider examples (10-148) and (10-149):

¹³ *jantung ni até*: 'sweetheart'

- (10-148) *Kami gëre mungenal [keduduken atawa sèn].*
 we.EXCL not AO:seek status or money
 'We are not seeking status or money.'
- (10-149) *Be-pakat ike ara [sinte atawa bele].*
 MID-gather if EXIST gathering or disaster
 '(They would) get together if there was a gathering or a disaster.' (IK:116)

Coordinating conjunctions are described in detail in §16.3.

11 *Prepositional phrases*

Prepositions in Gayo are a closed class of particles that head prepositional phrases (PPs). There are five local prepositions, which express meanings of physical and temporal location. Local prepositions are described in §11.1. Prepositions that express non-local meanings are described in §11.2. Prepositions that mark NPs in comparative clauses were discussed in §6.5.

11.1 Local prepositions

There are five prepositions that can head PPs specifying local meanings. These are listed in Table 11-1.

Table 11-1: Local prepositions

<i>i</i>	location (§11.1.1)
<i>ter</i>	proximal location (§11.1.3)
<i>pède</i>	location (§11.1.2)
<i>ku</i>	goal (§11.1.4)
<i>ari</i>	source (§11.1.5)

All of these prepositions can head a PP used as an adjunct. The prepositions *i* and *ari* can head PPs occupying the descriptive slot of a complex NP (§10.4). The local prepositions are described individually in the following sections.

11.1.1 Location: *i*

The preposition *i* heads PPs denoting physical or temporal location, specifying the meanings ‘in’, ‘at’, or ‘on’. In examples (11-1) to (11-3), the preposition specifies static location within a physical area:

- (11-1) *Gère ara sah pè i umah.*
not EXIST who also/even LOC house
‘There’s no one in the house/at home.’

- (11-2) *Keben pe-je-jik i ujung ni umah=é.*
 barn T.TEXT-RED-stand LOC edge POSS house=3.POSS
 'The barn stands at the side of his house.' (Métun)
- (11-3) *Wè mu-kuntut i pantat=é.*
 3 INTR-blemish LOC buttocks=3.POSS
 'He has a birthmark on his buttocks.'

This preposition can also specify a meaning of movement 'over' a location, as in (11-4):

- (11-4) *Ungi n=uén=a mu-serdol i bibir=é.*
 snout POSS=boy=that INTR-dribble LOC lips=3.POSS
 'That boy's snout is dribbling over his lips.'

PPs headed by *i* can be used with temporal noun phrases expressing extended lengths of time, for example *masa* 'era', *tôn* 'year', or *ulen* 'month'. This can convey a sense of 'during', or 'within' the bounds of the specified time. Consider example (11-5):

- (11-5) *I masa oya, kami sekolah.*
 LOC era that we.EXCL school
 'During that time we (went to) school.'

With human reference, *i* can specify a meaning of temporary possession.

- (11-6) *Buku kadang-kadang i guru we.*
 book sometimes LOC teacher EMPH
 'Sometimes the teacher had some books (with him).'

The meaning conveyed by *i* is of location, and not of true possession (§10.3). This is evident in example (11-7), where both the true owner and the temporary possessor are specified in the clause:

- (11-7) *Sèn=é i Mus=ne.*
 money=3.POSS LOC Mus=earlier
 'Her money is with Mus.'

11.1.2 Location: *pède/pada*

The preposition *pède* is interchangeable with the Malay/Bahasa Indonesia form *pada* 'at, to'. PPs headed by *pède* are used to specify temporal location, typically introducing the temporal setting of a scene.

- (11-8) *Pède kelem=a=ne i onè nomé.*
 LOC2 evening=that=earlier LOC there AO:lie.down
 'That evening, they slept at that place.' (Depik)

Folk tales are often introduced with the formula *pède sara waktu* ... 'once upon a time ...':

- (11-9) *Pada sara waktu terjadi munginté.*
 LOC2 one time happen AO:propose
 'One day, there was a marriage proposal.'

Pède is restricted to use in more formal language, such as that used in stories, poetry and *melèngkan* (§1.1.5) speech.

11.1.3 Proximal location: *ter*

PPs headed by *ter* specify proximal location, signalling a less precise locative sense than *i* (§11.1.1). PP adjuncts headed by *ter* specify either physical or temporal location. *Ter* has a free-variant clitic form, *te=*, which can precede C-initial NPs, e.g. *te=jemat/ter jemat* 'on Friday' (*jemat* 'Friday'). PPs headed by *ter*, and which specify physical location, differ semantically from those headed by *i*, in that *ter* signals that the location is proximal or in the vicinity of a particular point, whereas *i* signals location within a defined boundary. Consider examples (11-10) to (11-12):

- (11-10) *Waktu tawap,¹ aku te=kôdôk n=ama.*
 when walk.around.Ka'bah 1 PROX=back POSS=father
 'When we were walking around the Ka'bah, I was behind father.'
- (11-11) *Tikus=a mu-sangka ter arap=ku.*
 mouse=that INTR-run PROX front=1.POSS
 'That mouse ran in front of me.'
- (11-12) *Ter wan gelap=a bidik-bidik peteri sine.*
 PROX inside:POSS dark-that RED-peer princess earlier
 'In the darkness, the princess peered around.' (IK:169)

PPs headed by *ter* can specify a location through which someone or something moves:

- (11-13) *Ter belang=a wè r[em]alan.*
 PROX field=that 3 INTR-walk
 'Through that field he walked.'
- (11-14) *Entah mu-sangka kite ari ini, ter pintu kôdôk=ni.*
 come.on INTR-run we.INCL from this PROX door back=this
 'Come on, let's run from here through the backdoor to outside.' (IK:169)

Compass points and directional bearings such as map positions are expressed as PPs headed by *ter*:

- (11-15) *Negeri Belene ter barat.*
 country Holland PROX west
 'Holland is to the west.'

PPs headed by *ter* can function as temporal adjuncts with reference to months, days, or times of the day:

- (11-16) *Te=soboh aku ulak.*
 PROX=morning 1 return
 'In the morning I am going home.'

11.1.4 Goal: *ku*

The preposition *ku* 'to' indicates direction toward a goal, but can also head oblique stimulus PPs (§5.2.1.2). This preposition is often realised as a cliticised form *k=* when it precedes V-initial NPs, e.g. *k=atas/ku atas* 'to the top' (*atas* 'top'). The preposition *ku*

¹ *tawap* (Arabic: *tawāf*): the ritual of circumambulating the Ka'bah during the pilgrimage to Mecca.

heads PPs that specify a place, thing or person to which motion is directed. Consider examples (11-17) to (11-19):

- (11-17) *Wè nge beluh ku bèngkèl.*
 3 already go to garage
 'He has gone to the garage.'
- (11-18) *Sawah wè ku Biren.*
 arrive 3 to Bireuen
 'He arrived at Bireuen.'
- (11-19) *Masa oya, agama Islam muloi cop ku kite=ni.*
 era that religion Islam begin land to we.INCL=this
 'At that time, Islam began to come to us here.'

Ku can specify direction in clauses that do not contain a verb of motion. In these cases, prior movement to that location is implied:

- (11-20) *Abang Das nge ngarô akang k=uten.*
 Abang Das already AO:hunt deer to=forest
 'Abang Das is hunting deer in the forest.'
- (11-21) *Tengah=a bel-èjer aku ku jema tue i kampung.*
 long.ago=that MID-learn 1 to person old LOC village
 'Long ago I learnt (by going) to the old people in the village.'

These PPs can also occur in clauses with an ellipsed predicate (§6.7). In such cases, the presence of *ku* implies movement to the destination specified in the PP. Consider example (11-22):

- (11-22) *Aku=ni ku Jagong.*
 I=this to Jagong
 'I'm (going) to Jagong.'

11.1.5 Source: *ari*

Ari 'from' can specify both local and non-local meanings. These are described in turn in the following subsections.

11.1.5.1 Local meanings of *ari*

PPs headed by *ari* 'from' can specify a source or origin. In example (11-23), *ari* occurs with a verb of motion, and in (11-24), with a verb of taking:

- (11-23) *Aku ben sawah ari Takèngen.*
 I just arrive from Takengon
 'I have just arrived from Takengon.'
- (11-24) *Ike belô, nge kami-gètèk-en ari rudang=é.*
 if betel.leaf already UO.I.EXCL-pick-CAUS1 from stalk=3.POSS
 'As for the betel leaf, we have taken (it) from its stalk.'

Ari can head a PP specifying temporal source, as in (11-25):

- (11-25) *Uren ari soboh.*
 rain from morning
 'It has been raining since the morning.'

With verbs of cognition or perception, a PP adjunct headed by *ari* can specify the location from where something is perceived, as in (11-26), or a source of information, as in (11-27):

- (11-26) *Sine lagu si ara ku-pengé ari wan pe-nomè-n=ku.*
 earlier way REL EXIST UO.1-hear from inside:POSS NOM-lie.down=1.POSS
 'It was as if as I had heard (it) from my bed.' (SLG:215)
- (11-27) *Nge i-pengé=wé ari ama=é.*
 already UO-hear=3.N.SUBJ from father=3.POSS
 'He had heard (it) from his father.' (SLG:192)

11.1.5.2 Non-local meanings of *ari*

Ari can also head PPs with non-local meanings. They can specify the substance or material from which something is made or constructed, as in examples (11-28) and (11-29):

- (11-28) *I-tos ine alas=ni ari kertan.*
 UO-make mother mat=this from pandanus
 'Mother made this mat out of pandanus.'
- (11-29) *I-tos=è umah=é ari mas-pirak.*
 UO-make=3.POSS house:3.POSS from gold-silver
 'He made his house out of gold and silver.'

With a nominalised-verb complement (§4.3.3) *ari* can specify the reason why a state of affairs has come into being. Consider examples (11-30) and (11-31):

- (11-30) *M-urip=é ari hasil ni ume.*
 INTR-live=3.POSS from succeed POSS rice.paddy
 'His (means of) living (i.e. subsistence) comes from the success of his rice paddy.'
- (11-31) *Ari keras ni kuyu, mu-tuh i Ujung Berangén.*
 from strong POSS wind INTR-fall LOC Ujung Berangén
 'Due to the strength of the wind, (the kite) came down in Ujung Berangén.'

Pps headed by *ari* can contain verbs denoting a departed state of affairs:

- (11-32) *Uet wè ari nomé.*
 arise 3 from lie.down
 'He got up from (his) sleep.'

11.2 Non-local prepositions

There are four prepositions in Gayo that express exclusively non-local meanings. They are listed in Table 11-2.

Table 11-2: Non-local prepositions

<i>urum</i>	‘with’ (§11.2.1)
<i>kin</i>	‘as, for’ (§11.2.2)
<i>tentang</i>	‘about’ (§11.2.3)
<i>melèngkan</i>	‘except’ (§11.2.4)

All of the non-local prepositions can head a PP used as an adjunct. The prepositions *kin* ‘as, for’ and *tentang* ‘about’ can head PPs occupying the descriptive slot of a complex NP (§10.4). The non-local prepositions are described in turn in the following sections.

11.2.1 *urum* ‘with’

The preposition *urum* conveys a number of meanings. With a complement that denotes an animate, typically human, entity, *urum* can specify a meaning of accompaniment:

- (11-33) *Aku malè beluh ku Jagong urum Aman Kerna.*
 1 will go to Jagong with Aman Kerna
 ‘I intend to go to Jagong with Aman Kerna.’
- (11-34) *Nomé ku umah ni anan=é urum pong=é.*
 AO:lie.down to house POSS grandmother=3.POSS with friend=3.POSS
 ‘(She) is sleeping at here grandmother’s house with her friend.’ (SLG:83)

This preposition can also head PPs specifying a co-participant in a reciprocal action:

- (11-35) *Kite=ni be-lomba, ber-adu urum Abang Pelanuk.*
 we.INCL=this MID-race MID-compete with older.brother mousedeer
 ‘We are going to have a race, to compete with brother Mousedeer.’ (Pelanuk)
- (11-36) *Ngôk kite bersi-cerak-an urum banan ni jema.*
 can we.INCL RECIP-talk with woman POSS person
 ‘We can talk with a married woman.’

PPs headed by *urum* can specify an instrument or means by which an act is performed:

- (11-37) *I-tengkam-n=è urum uyet mati kulit.²*
 UO-catch-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ with vine dead skin
 ‘He trapped (it) with dried vines.’
- (11-38) *Cube pè i-cerak-an=ko urum basa Inggeris.*
 ENCOUR also/even UO-talk-CAUS1=2.N.SUBJ with language English
 ‘Go and talk (to them) in English.’

Finally, adjuncts of manner can be expressed by a PP headed by *urum* ‘with’ (§11.2.1). The PP contains a noun or an unaffixed verb root modified by a relative clause. Consider examples (11-39) and (11-40):

- (11-39) *Ben ilen i-suen=è urum alak mu-sempur.*
 just still UO-plant=3.N.SUBJ with sweat INTR-flow
 ‘He has just planted (the crops) with a lot of toil. (lit. ‘with sweat flowing’)
 (IK:90)

² *mati kulit* (M/BI: ‘dead skin’): vines that have dried out and are very strong.

- (11-40) *Urum cerak mu-kècos, Tentum Kapur mu-jëwep.*
 with talk INTR-impeded Tentum Kapur INTR-answer
 'Talking with an impediment, Tentum Kapur answered.' (IK:179)

11.2.2 *kin* 'as, for'

The preposition *kin* can head PP adjuncts that refer to an attribute (§11.2.2.1), the result of becoming (§11.2.2.2), or a benefactor (§11.2.2.3). It is also used to head oblique argument PPs, which were described in §5.2.1.2.

11.2.2.1 Attribute

PPs headed by *kin* can convey attributive meanings, specifying the role of a person in society, or the function of an inanimate entity. This meaning is specified typically when the PP has predicate function:

- (11-41) *Ara kin guru abang ni Aman Sejuk.*
 EXIST as shaman older.brother POSS Aman Sejuk
 'Aman Sejuk's older brother is a shaman.'
- (11-42) *Luar=ni kin pene-cét.*
 brush=this as INSTR-paint
 'This brush is for painting (with).' (lit. 'This brush is as a painter.')

11.2.2.2 Result of becoming

In clauses with the verb *i-tos* 'make', *kin* can specify the result of making or becoming. Consider examples (11-43) and (11-44):

- (11-43) *Ini malè i-tos kin pen-jemur.*
 this will UO-make as INSTR-dry
 'This (rope) will be made into a clothes line.'
- (11-44) *I-tos=è upéh kin gambar ni Gajah Putih.*
 UO-make=3.N.SUBJ leaf.sheath as picture POSS elephant white
 'He made the leaf-sheath into a picture of the White Elephant.'

This meaning can also be expressed with the derivation *i-boboh-(n)en* 'put' and *mèh* 'finished, used up':

- (11-45) *Wè i-bobon kin kepala ni be-bujang i serami.*
 3 UO-put:CAUS1 as head POSS RED-boy LOC living quarters
 'He was made leader of the boys in the living quarters.' (IK:83)
- (11-46) *Batang kayu=ne nge mèh kin umah.*
 tree wood=earlier already finished as house
 'The trees have all been (made) into houses.'

11.2.2.3 Benefactor

Benefactive relationships can be coded in a number of different ways in Gayo. One strategy is to mark a benefactor by the preposition *kin*. Core argument benefactors, i.e. complements of the verb *i-osah* 'give', can be marked by *kin* (§5.2.1.2). *Kin* can also mark benefactors expressed as adjuncts. The adjunct can specify the benefactor of an action, as exemplified in (11-47), or a recipient, as in (11-48):

- (11-47) *I-emah abang bakô kin ama.*
 UO-carry older.brother tobacco for father
 'Older brother brought some tobacco for father.'
- (11-48) *Oya ke-kiding ni akang kin ko.*
 that RED-foot POSS deer for 2
 'Those are the deer feet (that are) for you.' (IK:167)

PPs headed by *kin* that contain temporal nouns can be used to specify that something is for a specific time or occasion:

- (11-49) *Gulê kin mangan ruhul nge be-kisip.*
 fish for eat midday already MID-scale
 'The fish for lunch has been scaled.'
- (11-50) *I-mah ine keramil kin turun mani.*³
 UO-carry mother coconut for descend bathe
 'Mother carried a coconut for the *turun mandi* ceremony.'

Kin can also denote a purpose for which an act is carried out:

- (11-51) *I-talu=è seluruh rayat wan kampung=a kin*
 UO-call=3.N.SUBJ entire population inside:POSS village=that for
*akikah*⁴ *n=aka=é=ne.*
 naming.day POSS=older.sister=3.POSS=earlier
 'He called the entire population of the village to his older sister's naming day.' (SLG:43)

11.2.3 tentang 'about'

The preposition *tentang* 'about', which is borrowed from Malay / Bahasa Indonesia, is rarely used in Gayo. *Tentang* can head PPs referring to what is represented in a story or something said. Consider examples (11-52) and (11-53):

- (11-52) *Jema si gèh ber-unger tentang nasip si terjadi*
 person REL come MID-tell about fate REL happen
ku kumpu=é.
 to grandchild=3.POSS
 'The person who came told about the fate of his grandchild.' (IK:101)

³ *turun mani* (M/BI: *turun mandi* 'descend bathe'): a ceremony in which a newly born child is bathed for the first time; the 'naming day'.

⁴ *akikah* (Arabic: 'aqīqah): Islamic ritual held after the birth of a child which involves slaughtering a sheep or goat, and gathering people together to celebrate; the 'naming day' (see note 3).

- (11-53) *I-kune-i Belene sine tentang rēja-rēja i Gayô.*
 UO-ask-LOC Dutch earlier about RED-king LOC Gayo
 'The Dutch asked about the kings in Gayo.' (IK:213)

With predicates that denote acts of cognition, *tentang* can mark an oblique undergoer argument:

- (11-54) *Gère i-betih jema tentang untung-nasip=é.*
 not UO-know person about fortune-fate=3.POSS
 'People don't know (lit. about) their fate.' (IK:136)
- (11-55) *Urang Gayô paham tentang selo depik kona.*
 person Gayo understand about when k.o.fish strike
 'The Gayo are knowledgeable about when depik fish are about.' (IK:137)

PPs headed by *tentang* can also occur within relative clauses (§14):

- (11-56) *Ara si tentang pané=wé.*
 EXIST REL about clever=3.POSS
 'There are some (stories) about his cleverness.' (IK:228)
- (11-57) *Delé ilen isi ni didong tentang m-urip*
 much still content POSS poetic.form about INTR-live
ni mahluk si ara wan uten=a.
 POSS creature REL EXIST inside:POSS forest=that
 'There is still much content in the *didong* poem about the creatures that exist in the forest.' (IK:54)

11.2.4 *melèngkan* 'except'

The preposition *melèngkan* 'except' heads PPs that specify exception. Consider examples (11-58) to (11-60):

- (11-58) *Bèwèn=é paké=a beluh ku wan uten melèngkan aku.*
 all=3.POSS person=that go to inside:POSS forest except 1
 'Everyone is going to the forest except me.'
- (11-59) *Peteri Pukes⁵ tutup melèngkan Minggu.*
 Peteri Pukes closed except Sunday
 'Peteri Pukes is closed except for Sundays.'
- (11-60) *Gère ara lèn melèngkan Allah.*
 not EXIST different except God
 'There is no other god than Allah.' (lit. 'There is no one different except Allah.')

⁵ *Peteri Pukes*: a crystal formation in a cave located just outside of Takengon, said to have once been a princess who was punished for not heeding the advice of her parents by being turned into a stone.

Part V:
Clause-level modifications

12 *Clausal modifications*

This chapter covers various modifications to clauses, and in some cases larger units of discourse are described. Modification of the clause for aspect is described in §12.1 and modality in §12.2. Predicate-modifying particles are described in §12.3, and finally, discourse particles in §12.4.

12.1 Aspect

Aspect at the level of the proposition is specified by a set of aspect-marking adverbs and complement-taking verbs. Continuous aspect is marked by the adverb *tengah* (§12.1.1), perfect aspect by the adverb *nge* (§12.1.2), and immediate perfect by the adverb *ben* or *teku* (§12.1.3). The adverbs that specify aspect all precede the predicate they modify, and can be separated from the predicate by a subject NP. A number of clausal complement-taking verbs (§15.2) are used to specify various phasal meanings.

12.1.1 Continuous aspect: *tengah*

The continuous aspect marker *tengah* specifies that an action or state is continuous over the event frame. Its function subsumes the function of ‘progressive aspect’, signalling that an action is in progress. As this marker can modify stative verb predicates, the term ‘continuative’ is more appropriate than ‘progressive’.¹ *Tengah* modifies predicates that specify progressive events:

- (12-1) *Manuk tengah t[em]erbang.*
bird CONT INTR-fly
‘The bird is flying.’

- (12-2) *Aka tengah munos rerum.*²
older.sister CONT AO:make k.o.sweet
‘Older sister is making *rerum*.’

With stative verbs and non-verbal predicates, *tengah* specifies that a state is impermanent or continuous:

¹ Note that the form *tengah* also functions as a measure noun (§4.2.2.5), meaning ‘middle’ or ‘half’.

² A kind of sweet consisting of a piece of palm sugar covered with rice flour dough and coconut.

- (12-3) *Wè tengah sakét.*
 3 CONT sick
 'She is sick (but will get better).'
- (12-4) *Tengah wè i wan pejëlenen ilen.*
 CONT 3 LOC inside:POSS journey still
 'She is still on her way.' (SLG:191)

With some stative verbs *tengah* allows a metaphorical interpretation, signalling impermanence. The predicate specifies a state that would otherwise be understood as permanent. Consider examples (12-5) and (12-6):

- (12-5) *Ton umah=é tengah berat.*
 place house=3.POSS CONT heavy
 'His wife is pregnant.' (Melalatoa 1982:34)
- (12-6) *Rom tengah ilang.*
 rice.plant CONT red
 'The rice plants are ripe.' (lit. 'The rice plants are red/brown.')

12.1.2 Perfect aspect: *nge*

Nge signals perfect aspect, indicating that the effects of an event that began or was completed prior the event frame continue to be felt. When *nge* has scope over verbs denoting perfective events, it signals that the act has been completed and the effects are still being felt at the time of the event frame. This is demonstrated in (12-7) with a resultative predicate:

- (12-7) *Nge gèh rëje=ne.*
 already come king=earlier
 'The king has arrived.'

And in (12-8) with a transitive undergoer-oriented predicate:

- (12-8) *Nge ku-jergut-en kerpé.*
 already UO.1-pull.out-CAUS1 grass
 'I have pulled out the grass.'

Nge is typically used to mark PP predicates:

- (12-9) *Ine nge ku si?*
 mother already to where
 'Where has mother (gone) to?'
- (12-10) *Aku sè=ni nge kin guru.*
 I now=this already as teacher
 'I am now a teacher.'

With intransitive primary affixed predicates, *nge* indicates that an act has begun and is still being carried out, as in (12-11), or that the act has been completed, as in (12-12):

- (12-11) *Pelisi nge mu-jège ringkel-ringkel.*
 police already AO-guard RED-periphery
 'The police were patrolling/patrolled the peripheries.'

- (12-12) *Ke nge nik mata n=lô, berangkat kite.*
 if already AO:ascend eye POSS=sun leave we.INCL
 'When the sun is rising/ has risen, we will leave.' (Depik)

12.1.3 Immediate perfect: *ben* and *teku*

Ben signals that the event specified by the predicate that follows it has 'just' occurred and its effects continue to be felt. It typically marks predicates specifying perfective events. Consider examples (12-13) to (12-15):

- (12-13) *Belangi pedih kepile=é. Ben i-kuruk=è.*
 beautiful very sweet.potato=3.POSS just UO-pull.out=3.POSS
 'Her sweet potatoes are beautiful. She has just pulled (them) out.'
- (12-14) *Ben i-tos ke umah=ni?*
 just (UO-)make INT house=this
 'Has this house just been built?'
- (12-15) *Inen Mayak, ben kerje.*
 Inen Mayak just married
 'Inen Mayak just got married.'

The form *teku* also expresses a meaning of immediate perfect, but signals that the event is slightly more immediate or recent than *ben*:

- (12-16) *Aku sè=ni, teku ku-pengé Bunge Bangka Wali.*
 I now=this just UO.I-hear Bunge Bangka Wali
 'I heard Bunge Bangka Wali just now.' (SLG:185)

12.1.4 Aspect with phasal meanings

A number of clausal complement-taking verbs (§15.2) are used to specify various phasal meanings. Examples include *dabuh* 'begin', *muloi* 'begin', and *mari* 'stop'. The status of these as verbs is evident by the fact that they can function as predicates on their own without taking a clausal complement, as demonstrated in example (12-17) with *mari* 'stop':

- (12-17) *Mari mi kite kejep!*
 stop SOF we.INCL a.moment
 'Let's rest for a moment!'

Consider examples (12-18) to (12-21):

- (12-18) *Budak ben mari i-niré-n.*
 baby just finish UO-bathe-CAUS1
 'The baby is done getting bathed.'
- (12-19) *Be-bujang muloi mun-angô kayu ni seladang ku wan uten.*
 RED-boy begin AO-fetch wood POSS hut to inside forest
 'The boys began to fetch wood for the hut in the forest.'
- (12-20) *Aman Maskerning pè dabuh munebang.*
 Aman Maskerning also/even begin AO:chop
 'Aman Maskerning started chopping (trees).' (IK:154)

An aspectual meaning is also conveyed by the adverb *renyel* 'continue, immediately'

- (12-21) *Loba pè renyel mah arang ku tukang keréta api.*³
 Loba also/even continue carry coal to workman train
 'Loba continued carrying coal to the train driver.'

12.2 Modality

Modality is signalled by the adverbial particles *turah* 'must' (§12.2.1) and *malè* 'will' (§12.2.2), as well as the complement-taking verbs *mera* 'want' (§12.2.3), *ngôk* 'can' (§12.2.4), and *pané* 'clever, can' (denoting skilled ability) (§12.2.5). The status of *mera*, *ngôk* and *pané* as verbs is evident in a number of ways. Firstly, unlike the other modal markers, they can bear the comparative suffix *-(n)en* (§6.5). This is demonstrated in example (12-47) with *mera*:

- (12-22) *Urang Gayô mera-nan ber-empus dari pada be-dagang.*
 person Gayo want-COMP MID-garden than MID-trade
 'Gayo people prefer cultivating gardens to engaging in trade.'

Secondly, *mera*, *ngôk* and *pané* can be modified by adverbs (§4.4.1) such as the intensifying particle *(pe)dih* 'very', as in (12-23); and the verbal negator *gëre* 'not' (§13.4.1), as in (12-24):

- (12-23) *Wè mera dih sekolah.*
 3 want very school
 'He really likes going to school.'
- (12-24) *Hana kati gëre mera mangan?*
 what so.that not want AO:eat
 'Why doesn't (he) want to eat?'

The modal verb *pané* is distinguished from other modal verbs by the fact that it can function as a predicate without taking a complement:

- (12-25) *Hana kati gëre mera mangan?*
 what so.that not want AO:eat
 'Why doesn't (he) want to eat?'

12.2.1 *turah* 'must'

Turah specifies obligation, conveying meanings of 'must' or 'should':

- (12-26) *Aku turah beluh.*
 I must go
 'I must get going.'
- (12-27) *Totor=ni turah mu-nge wan ulen ini.*
 bridge=this must INTR-completed inside:POSS month this
 'This bridge must be completed within this month. (IK:58)

Turah can also specify prescription of actions or behaviour:

³ *keréta api*: (M/BI) *kereta api* 'train' (*kereta* 'vehicle' *api* 'fire').

- (12-28) *Urang Gayô=ni turah mengè-n manat.*
 person Gayo=this must AO:hear-CAUS1 injunction
 'We Gayo must listen to the (cultural) injunctions.' (Ijô)
- (12-29) *Kite turah bermaksut⁴ munyelamat-an generasi si ara=ni.*
 we.INCL must have.intention AO:save-CAUS1 generation REL EXIST=this
 'We must make it our intention to save this (current) generation.' (IK:232)

12.2.2 *malè* 'will'

Malè is used to specify futurity or expectation. It differs from *mera* in that it cannot be used to convey a sense of habituality:

- (12-30) *Asu=a malè maté.*
 dog=that will dead
 'That dog is going to die.'
- (12-31) *Malè i-tirô=è kerô.*
 will UO-request=3.N.SUBJ rice
 'She was going to ask for some rice.' (IK:99)

Malè can be used to specify an intention or a future plan, often inferring desire:

- (12-32) *Wè malè mangan penan.*
 3 will AO:eat cake
 'He is going to/wants to eat cakes.'

The desiderative meaning conveyed by *malè* differs from that of *mera* 'want', in that *malè* primarily signals futurity, while *mera* primarily expresses desire, inferring desire to carry out the act habitually. Compare (12-33a) and (12-33b):

- (12-33)a *Aku malè beluh ku kedé.*
 I will go to market
 'I want to go/will go to the market.'
- b. *Aku mera beluh ku kedé.*
 I want go to market
 'I like going/always go to the market.' (but: '*I want to go to the market.')

Malè can specify that a state of affairs is 'almost' the case. Consider examples (12-34) to (12-36):

- (12-34) *Tali=ni malè mu-tus.*
 cord=this will INTR-sever
 'This cord is almost (completely) severed.'
- (12-35) *Potongn=é malè dis.*
 appearance=3.POSS will same
 'Their appearance is almost the same.' (i.e. They look similar to each other)
 (IK:143)

⁴ *bermaksut*: (M/BI) 'have the intention' (*ber-* prefix signalling possession + *maksud* 'intention').

- (12-36) *Tanoh Gayô malè bèwèn=é mu-bur-bur.*
 land Gayo will all:3.POSS INTR-RED-mountain
 ‘Almost all of Gayo is mountainous.’ (Melalatoa 1982:44)

12.2.3 *mera* ‘want’

Mera ‘want’ can express meanings of desire, ability, and habituality. With a subject that has animate reference, *mera* typically conveys a meaning of desire to perform an action:

- (12-37) *Ine mera ke ine beluh urum aku?*
 mother want INT mother go with 1
 ‘Do you (mother) want to go with me?’
- (12-38) *Mera kahè pengé=ko sara ke-këber-en?*
 want later (UO-)hear=2.N.SUBJ one RED-news-IMIT
 ‘Would you like to hear a folk tale later?’ (Métun)

Mera can specify willingness on the part of the subject to be a participant in a state, as in (12-39); or to be in a state of affairs in which the subject is an undergoer, as in (12-40):

- (12-39) *Benatang kucak-kucak gëre mera rap.*
 animal RED-small not want near
 ‘The small animals don’t want to get near (to us).’ (IK:239)
- (12-40) *Wè gëre mera i-pótô ge?*
 3 not want UO-photograph TAG
 ‘They don’t want/like to be photographed, do they?’

Mera also denotes ability, conveying that a participant is able or unable to perform an act due to external factors. For example, (12-41) was uttered by a woman explaining that she was unable to sleep due to noises outside:

- (12-41) *Gëre nè mera mis.*
 not anymore want sleep
 ‘(I) couldn’t sleep anymore.’

With verbs of ingestion, *mera* can specify meanings of both ‘like’ and ‘be able’ to eat/drink/ chew food or drink. The abilitative reading is typical when referring to a person’s tolerance to eat spicy or strongly flavoured food:

- (12-42) *Wè mera mangan masam-jéng.⁵*
 3 want AO:eat k.o.dish
 ‘He likes/is able to eat *masam-jéng*.’
- (12-43) *Abang ho gëre mera mangan gulé m-asén.*
 older.brother yon not want AO:eat fish INTR-salty
 ‘Abang doesn’t like/is not able to eat salty fish.’

Predicates containing *mera* can be negated to specify that a state of affairs could be a possibility, but is not the case, i.e. the thing ‘doesn’t want’ to enter a new state of affairs. In (12-44), *mera* specifies that it is physically possible for the referent of the ellipsed participant to open, but that it is not occurring at that moment:

⁵ *masam-jéng*: lit. ‘sour-spicy’. A traditional dish consisting of *depik* fish, vegetables, chili and lime juice.

- (12-44) *Dere-dere, gëre we mera mu-pecah.*
 RED-hit not INFO can INTR-break
 'After a lot of) hitting, (it) would not break open.' (IK:176)

Mera can specify a habitual meaning, i.e. that the referent of the subject 'likes' to do something habitually. The reference of the subject can be animate or inanimate, as demonstrated in (12-45) and (12-46) respectively:

- (12-45) *Kekanak oya mera mungét-ngét pong=é.*
 child that want RED-AO:bite friend=3.POSS
 'That child is always biting his friends.'
- (12-46) *Ini mera dih 'rrrr', beta mu-rèmok.*
 this want very 'rrrr' thus INTR-broken
 'This is always going 'rrrr' (making noise), (it's) like that, broken down (i.e. a television).'

Mera can be marked for comparison by the comparative suffix *-(n)en* (§6.5.1), as in (12-47), repeated from example (12-22), and it can be modified by an intensifying adverb or particle, as in (12-48):

- (12-47) *Urang Gayô mera-nan ber-empus dari pada be-dagang.*
 person Gayo want-COMP MID-garden than MID-trade
 'Gayo people prefer cultivating gardens to engaging in trade.'
- (12-48) *Wè mera dih sekolah.*
 3 want very school
 'He really likes going to school.'

12.2.4 ngôk 'can'

Ngôk 'can' specifies a general meaning of ability. In (12-49) and (12-50), *ngôk* specifies physical ability to carry out or complete an action:

- (12-49) *Hana kati i-pèrah-i? Kati ngôk mu-bantu orang miskin.⁶*
 what so.that UO-look-LOC so.that can AO-help person poor
 'Why do we seek (knowledge)? So that we will be able to help the poor.'
- (12-50) *Ari ge-gép nge ngôk i-pengé kedik ni Aman Maskerning.*
 from RED-far already can UO-hear laugh POSS Aman Maskerning
 'From afar, Aman Maskerning's laughing could be heard.' (IK:157)
- (12-51) *Aman Mayak sine pè gëre ngôk mu-dolot.*
 Aman Mayak earlier also/even not can AO-swallow
 'Aman Mayak wasn't able to swallow.' (IK:212)

In (12-52), *ngôk* expresses a meaning of ability in the sense of having an opportunity:

- (12-52) *Kedang ngôk kasè kin penesah=é.*
 maybe can later as INSTR:wash.clothes=3.POSS
 'Perhaps later (you) could be his washerwoman.'

⁶ *orang miskin*: (M/BI) 'poor person'.

Ngôk is also used to specify permission, as in (12-53), or if negated, prohibition, as in (12-54):

- (12-53) ... *Ara pong=te baru ngôk kite bersi-cerak-an urum*
 EXIST friend=our.INCL then can we.INCL RECIP-talk with
banan ni jema.
 woman POSS person
 ‘... (If) there is a friend (with us), then we can chat with somebody’s wife.’
 (Linge)
- (12-54) *Kite gëre ngôk kerje sabi diri.*
 we.INCL not can marry among self
 ‘We are not allowed to marry among ourselves (i.e. from our own clan).’

Ngôk can be modified for comparison by the suffix *-(n)en* (§6.5):

- (12-55) *Jema jëmen ngôk-en maté dari pada kemèl.*
 person long.ago can-COMP die than shy
 ‘People long ago would rather (lit. are more able to) die than feel ashamed.’
 (IK:92)

12.2.5 *pané* ‘clever, can’ (skilled ability)

Physical ability, in the sense of being able to perform an act due to an acquired or learned skill, is specified by the stative verb *pané* ‘clever’:

- (12-56) *Tengah=a Dalia pè pané ngukur.*
 long.ago=that Dalia also/even clever AO:grate
 ‘Long ago Dalia was able to/clever at grating (coconuts).’
- (12-57) *Wè pané mèrah sèn.*
 3 clever AO:seek money
 ‘He is good at making (lit. seeking) money.’

12.3 Predicate-modifying adverbial particles

In this section I describe adverbial particles that modify predicates. All of these follow the predicates they modify. When the predicate is negated (§13.4), the predicate-modifying adverbial particle directly follows the negator verb.

12.3.1 Temporal adverbial particles

12.3.1.1 *ilen* ‘still, yet’

The adverb *ilen* signals that a state of affairs has been the case before the reference time, and is still the case. In clauses of positive polarity, *ilen* is glossed as ‘still’:

- (12-58) *Banan kucak ilen, kècos-kècos ilen.*
 female small still RED-speak.imperfectly still
 ‘The girl is still young, she still speaks imperfectly.’

- (12-59) *Wè tengah munyuen kapas ilen.*
 3 CONT AO:plant cotton still
 'He is still planting cotton.' (SLG:26)

Modifying a negated predicate, *ilen* conveys a meaning of '(not) yet'. In negated predicates, *ilen* follows the negator verb, which in turn precedes the predicate it modifies. Consider in examples (12-60) and (12-61):

- (12-60) *Jepang gëre ilen m-ayo ku wan Indonesia=ni.*
 Japanese not yet INTR-enter to inside:POSS Indonesia=this
 'The Japanese hadn't yet entered Indonesia.'
- (12-61) *Gëre berani awan=ni=ne munangkuh-ni ling=é ilen.*
 not brave grandfather=this=earlier AO:leave-CAUS1 voice=3.POSS yet
 'The old man wasn't brave enough to say anything yet.'

Ilen can also modify non-verbal predicates (§5.1), such as the equative clause in (12-62):

- (12-62) *Kekanak wè ilen.*
 child 3 still
 'He is still a child.'

12.3.1.2 *nè* 'anymore, evermore'

The adverb *nè* signals that a state of affairs is the case at the reference time, and will be the case in the future. In clauses of positive polarity, *nè* is glossed as 'evermore'. Consider example (12-63):

- (12-63) *Ku si kasè beluh nè, k=onè kite-tunung.*
 to where later go evermore to=there UO.1.INCL-follow
 'Wherever they go from now on, we will follow.' (SLG:61)

Nè most commonly follows a negator verb to convey a meaning of '(not) anymore' or '(not) ever':

- (12-64) *Keta ke gëre nè aka munos bohong.*
 then BCKGR not anymore older.sister AO-make k.o.sweet
 'Then older sister won't be making *bohong* anymore.'
- (12-65) *Enti nè ara berhawa-napsu.⁷*
 don't anymore EXIST have.desire-lust
 'Don't let (yourself) be lustful any more.'
- (12-66) *Nume nè si asli=a kin pemimpin Linge.*
 not anymore REL original=that as ruler Linge
 'The ruler of Linge was no longer the original one (i.e. but somebody else).'

12.3.1.3 *pernah/penah* 'ever, before'

The adverb *pernah* and its phonologically simplified form *penah* convey a meaning of 'ever (before)'. Consider examples (12-67) and (12-68):

⁷ *ber-hawa-napsu*: (M/BI) *ber-* 'have' + *hawa-napsu* 'desire-lust'.

- (12-67) *Buet=é gëre dis urum buet-buet lèn si penah*
 work=3.POSS not same with RED-work different REL ever

kite-buet-en.

UO.1.INCL-work-CAUS1

‘The work involved with it is not the same as other work we have done before.’

- (12-68) *Wè gëre penah mangan masam-jéng.*

3 not ever AO:eat sour-hot

‘She hasn’t eaten *masam-jéng* before.’

When the clause is also modified by a temporal adjunct, *penah* signals that a state of affairs was or was not the case within that time:

- (12-69) *Gëre penah nomé nge pien kelem.*

not ever AO:lie.down already some night

‘(He) hasn’t slept for a number of nights.’ (IK:87)

12.3.1.4 mien ‘again’

The adverb *mien* specifies that a state of affairs is repeated, conveying the meaning ‘again’:

- (12-70) *Kunul mien i onè wè.*

sit again LOC there 3

‘He sat there again.’

- (12-71) *Teréh mien ama=é=ne.*

afraid again father=3.POSS=earlier

‘His father was afraid again.’ (SLG:89)

12.3.2 Intensifying adverbial particles

Three adverbial particles are used to express varying degrees of intensity. The intensifying adverbs are: *pedih* ‘very’, which marks intensive degree; *paling* ‘most’, which marks superlative degree; and *tu* ‘too (much)’, which marks excessive degree. These adverbs typically, but not exclusively, modify constituents that have the feature of gradability in their semantics, typically stative verbs. The intensifying adverbs are described in the following sections.

12.3.2.1 Intensive: *pedih* ‘very’

Pedih ‘very’ signals intensive degree. Consider examples (12-72) and (12-73):

- (12-72) *Nge belangi pedih ko.*

already beautiful very 2

‘You are very beautiful.’

- (12-73) *Mu-lapé dih aku ilen.*

INTR-hungry very 1 still

I am still very hungry. (Pelanuk)

Pedih can also modify predicates that specify habitual actions:

- (12-74) *Per-ôsoh pedih wè.*
 TEXT-steal very 3
 'He steals a lot.'

12.3.2.2 Superlative: *paling* 'most'

Paling 'most' specifies superlative degree. Consider examples (12-75) to (12-77):

- (12-75) *Wè paling bep.*
 3 most strong
 'He is the strongest.'
- (12-76) *Tengah=a, alas Acéh paling mu-rege.*
 long.ago=that mat Acehnese most INTR-value
 'Long ago, Acehnese mats were the most valuable.'
- (12-77) *Rėje si paling i-jujung ...*
 king REL most UO-respect
 'The king, who is the most respected ...'

In contexts where there is no sense of comparison, *paling* can convey an intensive rather than superlative meaning, meaning 'very' or 'extremely'. In (12-78), there is no discernable entity of comparison:

- (12-78) *Abu Jahal, pemikir-n=é paling kotèk.*
 Abu Jahal UO.NOM:think=3.POSS most dirty
 'Abu Jahal, his thoughts were most evil (lit. dirty)!'

12.3.2.3 Excessive degree: *tu* 'too (much)'

The adverb *tu* 'too' marks the excessive degree. It typically modifies stative predicates, as in examples (12-79) and (12-80):

- (12-79) *Porak tu i dëret.*
 hot too LOC land
 'It's too hot outside.'
- (12-80) *M-asén tu ini!*
 INTR-salty too this
 'This is too salty!'

12.4 Discourse particles

A number of adverbial particles in Gayo signal various discourse-related meanings, e.g. drawing attention to a particular segment of discourse, or conveying information about the attitude of the speaker to the proposition being expressed. The particles described in this chapter are classified into a number of types according to the constituent which they modify, the clause type in which they occur (e.g. declarative, interrogative), and their semantic characteristics. In §12.4.1, I describe a range of particles that mark focused

constituents. Other discourse particles are discussed in §12.4.2 to §12.4.5. The order of discourse particles in combination is discussed in §12.4.6.

12.4.1 Focus particles

This section contains descriptions of particles that modify focused constituents (§2.2.1) in the clause. They can also be used to emphasise larger units of discourse. Some of the focus particles convey lexical information (e.g. ‘also’, ‘even’, ‘too’) on top of their focus-marking function (König 1991). All of the focus particles follow the constituent they modify.

12.4.1.1 Focus particle: *le*

The particle *le* is a ‘pure’ focus-marker, marking new or unshared information. It typically modifies narrow-focused constituents such as a clefted constituent (§14.7). Consider examples (12-81) and (12-82):

- (12-81) *I sonè le bersi-turé-n anak=é urum ine=é.*
 LOC there FOC RECIP-acquaint offspring=3.POSS with mother=3.POSS
 ‘It was at that place that the mother and her children were acquainted.’

- (12-82) *Ko le si ku-rai.*
 2 FOC REL UO.1-meet
 ‘You are the one I came for.’ (SLG:86)

The particle *le* can also modify larger segments of discourse, emphasising prominent points in the event line of a narrative. In example (12-83), *le* (in **bold**) marks a return to the main event line of the narrative after incidental dialogue between the participants. In this function the particle immediately follows a predicate:

- (12-83) *Keta ke ngók i-juel-en mulo keta aku ku tempat ni*
 then BCKGR can UO-meet-CAUS1 first then 1 to place POSS
ine=ngku. ‘Boh mi keta ke nge lagu n=oya’, *kenè*
 mother=1.POSS HORT SOF then if already way POSS=that say
*jema delé. I-juel-en **le** renyel urum jema delé*
 person many UO-collect-CAUS1 FOC then with person many
k=umah ni ine=é so.
 to=house POSS mother=3.POSS yon
 ‘“Then we can be collected at my mother’s place.” “All right then if that’s how it is”, said the people. (They) were collected at her mother’s place.’ (SLG:171)

12.4.1.2 Emphatic particle: *we*

The particle *we* is used to mark informative or noteworthy elements in a clause. It differs from *le* (§12.4.1.1) by the fact that it marks information that is not necessarily new or ‘unshared’, but is explanatory or noteworthy in the context of the utterance. In example (12-84), *we* modifies a preceding adjunct:

- (12-84) *Jenaka=ni ber-ume. Ke-kelem we wè be-buet.*
 Jenaka=this MID-rice.paddy RED-night EMPH 3 MID-work
 'Jenaka worked in the rice paddy. At nights he would work.' (SLG:70)

In example (12-85) *we* modifies a predicate:

- (12-85) *Aku turah k=unuh-en we ko Jenaka.*
 I must UO.1=kill-CAUS1 EMPH 2 Jenaka
 'I have to kill you Jenaka.' (SLG:69)

This particle is also used to signal contrast. For example, in (12-86) the information marked by *we* contrasts with information in the statement that precedes it:

- (12-86) *Gëre ngôk i-tamah onom rukun Islam kenè Rasulullah.*
 not can UO-add six principle Islam say God's.messenger
I-peré-n=è lime we.
 UO-say-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ five EMPH
 'You can't have six principles of Islam, God's messenger said. He said there are five.'

In (12-87), speaker B affirms what speaker A has said. The particle *we* is used to reaffirm that B holds that what was uttered by A is a fact:

- (12-87) A: *Biasa kejep mati listrik⁸ ge?*
 usual a.moment die electricity TAG
 'Usually a blackout lasts just a moment, doesn't it?'
 B: *Kejep we.*
 a.moment EMPH
 '(Yes) Just a moment.'

12.4.1.3 *pè* 'also/even'

The particle *pè* 'also/even' conveys a wide range of related meanings. It generally signals relevance to a preceding context, addition, concession, or is used to indicate perseverance in attention to one entity. These meanings are described in the following paragraphs.

Pè can modify NPs, conveying a meaning of 'also' or 'too', in the sense that an entity is somehow involved in a previously mentioned state of affairs. Consider example (12-88):

- (12-88) *Ulak paké=ni ku Serule, ulak Sengéda pè ku Serule.*
 return 3.PL=this to Serule return Sengéda also/even to Serule
 'They returned to Serule, Sengéda also returned to Serule.'

Pè can also signal concession when marking NPs, meaning 'even':

- (12-89) *Umah Serule gelap, masa oya lampu pè gëre ara.*
 house Serule dark era that light also/even not EXIST
 'The houses (in) Serule were dark, in those days there weren't even any lights.'

⁸ *mati listrik* (M/BI): 'die' + 'electricity' = 'power blackout'.

A broader discourse function of *pè* is to signal that what is specified by a constituent is in some way relevant to a preceding context. For example, in (12-90) *pè* indicates that the statement is relevant to the preceding assertion made by the speaker, i.e. that because the child could be hungry, the parents should go home:

- (12-90) *Ulak mi renyel te-tir, anak=mu kadang nge*
 return SOF then RED-fast offspring=2.POSS maybe already
mu-lapé pè mu-nanté-n=ko.
 INTR-hungry also/even AO-wait-CAUS1=2.N.SUBJ
 'Go back quickly, your child is probably hungry (and) waiting for you.' (IK:144)

This function is also demonstrated in (12-91), where *zakat* 'poor tax' is mentioned in the first clause. In the second clause, where the speaker expands on the issue of *zakat*, this NP is marked by *pè*:

- (12-91) *Te ke nge delé reta kahè, keluarkan zakat.⁹*
 CLAR BCKGR already much wealth later expend poor.tax
Wan zakat=a pè, delé pahla=é.
 inside:POSS poor.tax=that also/even much merit=3.POSS
 'If you have a lot of wealth later, pay the poor tax. In (paying) that poor tax, there is much merit.'

The particle *pè* can modify imperative predicates, making the command or request seem less confrontational. The particle is often used when a request is made to somebody who is older or of higher status than the speaker. This use of *pè* can be explained by the fact that if there is some apparent link between the request and an earlier context, the request seems less abrupt:

- (12-92) *I-jerang ine pè kerô.*
 UO-cook mother also/even rice
 'Could you (mother) please cook some rice.'

12.4.1.4 *padih/dih* 'just'

The focus particle *padih* and its shortened form *dih* modifies NPs to predicates, as in (12-93), and adjuncts, as in (12-94), to convey the meanings 'just' or 'only':

- (12-93) *Kunul-kunul dih, kadang gèh ama.*
 RED-sit just maybe come father
 'Just sit right there, (and) maybe father will come.'
- (12-94) *Aku k=ini dih mu-niri.*
 I to=this just AO:bathe
 'I'll stay right here and bathe.'

12.4.1.5 *pelén* 'just'

Like *padih*, the focus particle *pelén* 'just' specifies a sense of restriction. In (12-95) and (12-96) *pelén* modifies NPs:

⁹ *keluarkan zakat* (M/BI): *keluar* 'go out' + *-kan* (causative suffix).

- (12-95) *Nume akang pelén si i-tengkam.*
not deer only REL UO-catch
'It wasn't only deer that was caught.' (IK:53)

- (12-96) *Oya pelén we ku-angô ku kedé.*
that only EMPH UO.1-fetch to market
'I got only that at the market.'

In declarative clauses *pelén* can modify a predicate, conveying a sense that 'nothing but' the state of affairs expressed in the predicate is the case:

- (12-97) *Ine=mu mongot pelén ari soboh mi.*
mother=2.POSS AO:weep only from morning more
'Your mother has been (doing nothing but) crying from the morning onwards.' (SLG:87)

12.4.2 Modal particle: *bang*

The modal particle *bang* signals uncertainty on the part of the speaker as to the truth value of an utterance that precedes it. It is used when the speaker cannot or will not vouch for the truth of an assertion.¹⁰ Consider examples (12-98) and (12-99):

- (12-98) *Pepok ulu diri=é, kerna kemèl kin si banan bang.*
bump head self=3.POSS because shy DAT REL woman UNC
'He bumped his head, perhaps because he was shy of the woman.' (SLG:140)
- (12-99) *Luis, ke sakét bang.*
pain BCKGR sick UNC
'(If there's) pain, (you are) most likely sick.'

This particle is often used to express politeness, to mark statements that would otherwise be considered too assertive or confrontational. This meaning is demonstrated in (12-100):

- (12-100) *'Ogoh bang ko abang Pelanuk', kenè Abang Gajah.*
stupid UNC 2 older.brother mousedeer say older.brother elephant
'“(It seems that) you're stupid brother Mousedeer” said brother Elephant.'
(Pelanuk)

12.4.3 Softening particle: *mi*

The particle *mi* softens imperative predicates, signalling that the utterance is a polite request rather than a command. It is typically used when a request is made to someone who is older or of a higher social status than the speaker. Consider (12-101) and (12-102):

- (12-101) *M-ayo mi ko.*
INTR-enter SOF 2
'Please come in.'
- (12-102) *Nomé mi kite.*
AO:lie.down SOF we.INCL
'Let's have a sleep.' (Pelanuk)

¹⁰ *bang*: Melalatoa (1982) glosses *bang* as ' *mungkin* ' ('perhaps') in Bahasa Indonesia.

Mi can also be used in declarative clauses. The statement in (12-103) was uttered in a telephone conversation with a government official. The speaker used *mi* to convey a tone of respect to the official:

- (12-103) *Aku gèh mi sè=ni.*
 I come SOF now=this
 'I am coming over now.'

12.4.4 Backgrounding particle: *ke*

The particle *ke* (and *te* in §12.4.5) is distinct from other discourse particles by the fact that it precedes the constituent that it modifies. It is thus formally distinguished from the homophonous interrogative particle *ke* (§13.2.1) by the fact that interrogative *ke* follows the constituent it modifies. This particle marks backgrounded information, i.e. supportive material in a text, which does not itself narrate the main events (Hopper 1979).

Backgrounding *ke* can mark clauses that provide incidental or explanatory information. For example, in (12-104) below, *ke* marks information that describes the cultural context in which the scene within the narrative is based:

- (12-104) *Gèh nginté=ne, i-kune-i tentu ku Peteri Pukes.*
 come AO:propose=earlier UO-ask-LOC certain to princess Pukes
Jadi, ke basa jëmen gëre i-peré-n=è 'e'.
 so BCKGR language long.ago not UO-say-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ yes
 'After he had come to propose, he indeed asked Princess Pukes. In the olden days they wouldn't say "yes" (i.e. ... they wouldn't give a direct reply).'

The particle is also used to soften statements that could be perceived as challenging or too direct. In example (12-105), *ke* conveys a sense that what is being asked is an established fact. As a result, the assertion seems less intrusive:

- (12-105) *Sè=ni ke delé sèn=mu, gëre ke?*
 now=this BCKGR much money=2.POSS not INT
 'You have a lot of money now, don't you?'

Backgrounding *ke* often marks right-dislocated NPs (§6.3.2) to indicate that the given information in the dislocation is background information:

- (12-106) *Empat ribu sara kilo, ke keramil=é.*
 four thousand one kilogram BCKGR coconut=3.POSS
 'Four thousand for one kilogram, their coconuts (are).'

In some cases, *ke* can occur more than once within a single clause. This often occurs where a statement is obvious from the context of the utterance. The statement in (12-107) is a confirmation of what is already known or what is obvious:

- (12-107) *Nge i-jerang=è, i-èngon=è item, kerô ke putih,*
 already UO-cook=3.N.SUBJ UO-see=3.N.SUBJ black rice BCKGR white
ke oros ke putih!
 BCKGR uncooked.rice BCKGR white
 'He cooked it (rice), he saw that it was black, (but) cooked rice is white, uncooked rice is white!' (Depik)

12.4.5 Clarificatory particle: *te*

The particle *te* precedes the constituent it modifies, signalling that what follows it is a clarification as to why something mentioned previously is the case. Consider examples (12-108) and (12-109):

- (12-108) *Nge pien lô gère sawah k=onè, te nyanya dené.*
 already how.many day not arrive to=there CLAR difficult road
 'After some days (he) hadn't yet arrived there, the way was difficult.'

- (12-109) 'Ulak' gèh kenè ama. *Te kati ku-rai' kenè.*
 return come say father CLAR so.that UO.1-fetch say
 "'(I'll) go back", said father. "In order to get (them)", (he) said.'

Alternatively, *te* can mark content questions where a request is made for further information on a topic being discussed. Consider examples (12-110) and (12-111):

- (12-110) *Te kune ko mu-rantô uén?*
 CLAR how 2 AO-travel boy
 'How (is it that) you will go travelling, boy?'

- (12-111) *Ini ara gulé. Te sahan mumaré-n=è i sien?*
 this EXIST fish CLAR who AO:situation-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ LOC here
 'There is a fish here. Who put it here?' (SLG:231)

12.4.6 Ordering of discourse particles in combination

Discourse particles occurring in combination have a fixed order. For example, when *le* and *pè* occur in combination, *pè* must precede *le*, as demonstrated in (12-112a and b):

- (12-112) a. *Aku pè le i umah ho.*
 I also/even FOC LOC house yon
 'I was at that house over there Inen Ipak.'
- b. **Aku le pè i umah ho.*
 I FOC also/even LOC house yon
 (*I was at that house over there.)

The discourse particles and their ordering with respect to the constituent they modify are outlined in Table 12-1. Particles of rank 1 are closer to their host than particles of rank 2, and particles of rank 3 are the farthest from their host. A particle can occur in combination with a particle of an adjacent rank. Two particles of the same rank and the same position in relation to their host (i.e. preposed or postposed), cannot occur in combination. Note that three of the particles included in this table are not described in this chapter. These are the interrogative particle *ke* (§13.2.1), the emphatic focus particle *kin(en)* (§13.2.4), and the rhetorical question particle *die* (§13.2.3).

Table 12-1: Ordering of particles in combination

Preposed Particles		Postposed Particles		
Rank 2	Rank 1	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3
<i>te</i> 'CLAR'	<i>ke</i> 'BCKGR'	<i>mi</i> 'SOF' <i>kin(en)</i> 'EMPH'	<i>pè</i> 'also/even' <i>ke</i> 'INT'	<i>we</i> 'EMPH' <i>bang</i> 'UNC' <i>le</i> 'FOC' <i>die</i> 'RHET'

The abbreviations for the particles are listed in the Abbreviations and conventions, and are repeated here:

te 'CLAR' (clarificatory particle)
ke 'BCKGR' (backgrounding)
mi 'SOF' (softening)
kinen 'EMPH' (emphatic)
ke 'INT' (interrogative)

we 'EMPH' (emphasis)
bang 'UNC' (uncertainty)
le 'FOC' (focus)
die 'RHET' (rhetorical question)

13 *Speech acts: imperatives, interrogatives, exclamations, negation*

This chapter covers various kinds of modifications to simple clauses that reflect different kinds of speech acts. The following sections contain descriptions of imperatives (§13.1), interrogatives (§13.2), exclamations (§13.3), and negation (§13.4).

13.1 Imperatives

13.1.1 *The basic pattern*

In this section positive imperative clauses are described. Prohibition is marked by the negator verb *enti* 'don't', and is described in §13.4.3. In positive imperative clauses, the addressee is typically ellipsed. The ellipsed argument can be a subject, as in (13-1); or a non-subject, as in (13-2):

(13-1) *Mu-sangka renyel!*
INTR-run then
'Run!'

(13-2) *Uke-n awah=mu!*
(UO-)open-CAUS1 mouth=2.POSS
'Open your mouth!' (IK:61)

The addressee can also be expressed overtly in imperatives. Consider examples (13-3) and (13-4):

(13-3) *Ko m-éwé renyel i sien.*
2 INTR-stay then LOC here
'You stay here!'

(13-4) *Terime-n=ko céncém=ni!*
(UO-)accept-CAUS1=2.N.SUBJ ring=this
'Accept this ring!'

The addressee tends to be expressed overtly in hortatory clauses, i.e. specifying encouragement to perform an action together with the speaker. In such clauses, pronouns referring to the addressee are expressed as subjects in intransitive clauses, as in (13-5):

- (13-5) *Mangan mi kite=ni woi!*
 AO:eat SOF we.INCL=this EXCLAM
 'Let's eat!' (SLG:26)

In transitive hortatory clauses, the addressee is expressed as a non-subject actor argument, as in (13-6):

- (13-6) *Cube kite-pengé be-bèwèn=te rěje-rěje!*
 ENCOUR UO.1.INCL-hear RED-all=we.INCL.POSS RED-king
 'Let's have a listen to the kings!' (SLG:77)

Imperative clauses often contain the adverbs *mulo* 'first' or *renyel* 'then, immediately'. Clauses containing *renyel* are more urgent or forceful than those that contain *mulo*. Consider examples (13-7) and (13-8):

- (13-7) *Nomé mulo kejep!*
 AO:lie.down first a.moment
 'Have a lie down for a moment!'
- (13-8) *Nomé renyel!*
 AO:lie.down then
 'Go to bed!'

Transitive imperative predicates must be undergoer-oriented. The prefixed element *i-* is typically dropped:

- (13-9) *Pangan renyel s[en]uen=ku kuneh-kenak=mu!*
 (UO-)eat then NOM-plant=1.POSS how-desire=2.POSS
 'Eat my plants whenever you want!' (IK:164)
- (13-10) *Timak renyel i ton oya!*
 (UO-)shoot then LOC place that
 'Shoot (them) at that place.' (IK:65)

Imperative predicates in transitive clauses are often marked by the causative suffix *-(n)en* (§9.3). With transitive bases this signals that the clause is imperative:¹

- (13-11) *Unuh-en aku mulo!*
 (UO-)kill-CAUS1 1 first
 'Kill me first (if you dare)!'
- (13-12) *Dere-nen renyel!*
 (UO-)strike-CAUS1 then
 'Strike (it)!'

When attached to intransitive bases, *-(n)en* has the same functions as it does in declarative clauses. For example, in (13-13) the suffix is attached to an intransitive verb to licence an undergoer argument:

¹ Due to its frequent occurrence in imperative constructions, *-(n)en* has been described in previous analyses of Gayo as an 'imperative marker' (Asyik 1980:24). The frequent use of *-(n)en* in imperatives is due to the sense of intention associated with this prefix.

- (13-13) *Cerak-an Banda Acéh ku aku.*
 (UO-)talk-CAUS1 Banda Aceh to 1
 'Tell me about Banda Aceh'

Transitive imperative predicates can also bear other valence-increasing affixes, such as the locative suffix *-i* (§9.2):

- (13-14) *Tegah-i awan aku!*
 (UO-)prevent-LOC grandfather 1
 'Prevent me (from continuing) Grandfather!'

13.1.2 Imperative markers

There are a number of words and particles that are used in imperative clauses to convey a range of meanings. They can occur within a clause or on their own as expressions of encouragement. They are described in the following sections.

13.1.2.1 *entah* 'come on!'

The interjection *entah* is used to signal a meaning similar to 'come on!' in English. *Entah* precedes the imperative clause, and is never used in conjunction with other imperative markers. Consider examples (13-15) and (13-16):

- (13-15) *Entah ulak k=umah!*
 come.on return to=house
 'Come on let's go home!' (Linge)
- (13-16) *Entah mi kite ku Samarkilang!*
 come.on SOF we.INCL to Samarkilang
 'Let's (go) to Samarkilang!'

13.1.2.2 *gelah* 'let'

The interjection *gelah* 'let' is most typically used to mark imperative clauses that contain predicating stative verbs specifying encouragement or approval on behalf of the speaker, conveying a meaning of 'let it be so':

- (13-17) *Gelah mi kôl mulo bēden=é.*
 let SOF big first body=3.POSS
 'Let his body get big first.'
- (13-18) *Enti je-jari lencok, gelah lempang-gelit.*
 don't RED-finger slip let straight-level
 'Don't let your fingers slip, make it straight.'

Gelah is used in imperatives in which there is a sense that the speaker is allowing the performance of an act that the addressee desires to perform. Consider (13-19):

- (13-19) *Gelah delé mangan.*
 let much AO:eat
 'Go ahead and eat a lot.' (Melalatoa 1982:91)

Gelah can also be used in prohibitive clauses:

- (13-20) *Gelah enti mi osah kin uén=ni.*
 let don't SOF (UO-)give DAT boy=this
 'Don't give (it) to this boy.'

Gelah can be used on its own, typically after an utterance, to indicate that one is resigned to some fact:

- (13-21) *Keta ke lagu n=oya, gelah!*
 then if way POSS=that let
 'Then if that's the case, so be it!' (SLG:89)

13.1.2.3 Encouragement particle: *cube*

Imperative clauses are often preceded by the particle *cube*² to express encouragement. This is grammaticised from the transitive verb *i-cube* 'try'. The non-verbal status of this use of *cube* is evident by the fact that when it signals encouragement it cannot take an affix. Consider examples (13-22) and (13-23):

- (13-22) *Cube mulo i-uke ine lemari!*
 ENCOUR first UO-open mother cupboard
 'Open the cupboard mother!' (SLG:87)
- (13-23) *Cube dere-n=ko ike berani!*
 ENCOUR strike-CAUSI=2.N.SUBJ if brave
 'Hit (him) if you're brave enough!'

13.1.2.4 Hortative: *boh*

The hortative interjection *boh* is used to convey the meanings 'go ahead' or 'please', in the sense that the speaker does not mind if the addressee performs an act. *Boh* often precedes the hortatory clause. Consider examples (13-24) and (13-25):

- (13-24) *Boh turun renyel kati mangan.*
 HORT descend then so.that AO:eat
 'Please come and eat.'
- (13-25) *O ketor, boh kite ber-adu.*
 VOC shellfish HORT we.INCL MID-race
 'O Shellfish, let's have a race.' (Pelanuk)

Boh is often used on its own used to draw attention when the speaker wishes to say something, as in example (13-26):

² In the Dëret dialect: *cuge* (*i-cuge* 'try').

- (13-26) *Boh nge siep.*
 HORT already ready
 'All right then (I'm) ready.' (Pelanuk)

It can also be used after a statement to elicit confirmation of an agreement:

- (13-27) *Ku-tik-i honda=ma boh!*
 UO.1-ascend-LOC motorbike=2.PL.POSS HORT
 'I'll ride your bike, all right?'

Boh can also be used independently from the hortatory clause to convey encouragement, meaning 'go ahead' or 'please do so':

- (13-28) A: *Be-gerak mi aku.*
 MID-move SOF 1
 'I'll get going now.'

B: *Boh!*
 HORT
 'Go ahead!'

- (13-29) *Keta lagu ini kasè i-tos, boh mi keta.*
 then way this later UO-make HORT SOF then
 'If it's going to be made like that, go ahead.' (Linge)

13.2 Interrogatives

In this section I describe different types of interrogative clauses. I describe polar questions in §13.2.1, and responses in §13.2.1.2. Content questions are described in §13.2.2. Rhetorical questions are discussed in §13.2.3.

13.2.1 Polar questions

Polar questions are characterised by the fact that the questioned element is fronted, and is typically followed by the interrogative particle *ke*. Consider examples (13-30) to (13-32):

- (13-30) *Betul ke nge sangup?*
 true INT already capable
 'Is it true (he) is capable?' (SLG:168)
- (13-31) *Ngòk ke aku pè beluh urum kapal ni bapak=ni?*
 can INT 1 also/even go with ship POSS gentleman=this
 'May I go on this gentleman's ship?' (SLG:49)
- (13-32) *I-betih=è ke nge ko m-ayo Islam?*
 UO-know=3.N.SUBJ INT already 2 INTR-enter Islam
 'Do they know that you converted to Islam?'

Polar questions which contain complex VPs are often introduced by the existential verb *ara* (§5.2.4.1), which functions as the questioned element. This is demonstrated in (13-33):

- (13-33) *Kurnia nge kerje, ara ke i-betih aka?*
 Kurnia already marry EXIST INT UO-know older.sister
 'Kurnia is married, did you know that sister?'

13.2.1.1 Sentence tags

The question tag *gëre ke* (*gëre* 'not' + *ke* interrogative particle) typically follows a statement to form a question meaning 'isn't it?'. It is used when seeking confirmation or agreement from the addressee. Consider examples (13-34) and (13-35):

- (13-34) *Te ke nge delé reta kahè, keluarkan zakat,³*
 CLAR BCKGR already much wealth later expend poor.tax
gëre ke?
 not INT
 'If (we) had a lot of wealth later on (we) would spend it on the poor tax, wouldn't (we)?'
- (13-35) *I-tos senik, kati pekara, kati lues, gëre ke?*
 UO-make excuse so.that dispute so.that wide not INT
 'Excuses were made, so that there would be a dispute, so that (their land boundaries) would be wide, weren't there?'

Although relatively infrequent, *gëre ke* can also precede a statement:

- (13-36) *Gëre ke ara hak ny=jema i was=a?*
 not INT EXIST right POSS=person LOC inside=that
 'Isn't it (the case) that somebody has rights (to what's) inside it?'

The tag *gëre ke* can be reduced to the form *ge*. This signals the same meaning as *gëre ke*:

- (13-37) *Masak gëre inget=è, ge?*
 impossible not UO:remember=3.N.SUBJ TAG
 'It's impossible she doesn't remember, isn't it?'

13.2.1.2 Responses

In this section I describe positive responses. Negative responses are described in §13.4.4. Positive responses are typically made by a repeating the questioned element:

- (13-38) A: *Ulak ke paké=a?* B: *Ulak.*
 return INT person=that return
 'But did they return?' '(Yes, they) returned.'
- (13-39) A: *Gulé ke si i-jerang ine?* B: *Gulé.*
 fish INT REL UO-cook mother fish
 'Was it fish that mother cooked?' '(Yes, it) was fish.'

The existential verb *ara* can be used as a positive response to a polar question:

³ *keluarkan zakat* (M/BI): 'pay the poor tax'. (*keluar* 'go out' + *-kan* applicative)

- (13-40) A: *I si bel-ëjer, i Biren?* B: *Ke ara.*
 LOC where MID-study LOC Bireuen BCKGR EXIST
 'Where (did they) study, in Bireuen?' '(They) did.'

In example (13-41), speaker B responds to speaker A by repeating the questioned aspectual adverb *nge* 'already' (§12.1.2). Repetition of the verb *mangan* 'AO:eat' would also be an acceptable response to this question:

- (13-41) A: *Nge ke mangan ko?* B: *Nge*
 already INT AO:eat 2 already
 'Have you eaten?' 'Yes'

13.2.1.3 Affirmation

An affirmative response to a declarative statement can be given by saying '*e*'. This is typically used as a response to rhetorical questions or statements followed by a question tag:

- (13-42) A: *Ike hëk, nomé mulo kejep, gëre ke?*
 if tired AO:lie.down first a.moment not INT
 'If (we) are tired, (we should) sleep for a while, shouldn't (we)?'
 B: *E, nomé mulo kejep.*
 yes AO:lie.down first a.moment
 'Yes, sleep for a while'

A statement containing a question tag may also be affirmed with *oya le* (*oya* that + *le* FOC) meaning 'yes indeed':

- (13-43) A: *Delé nge si i-kurang-i ge?*
 much already REL UO-less-LOC TAG
 'There is much that has been taken (from us), isn't there?'
 B: *Oya le!*
 that FOC
 'Yes indeed!'

13.2.2 Content questions

Content questions are questions in which the speaker requests further information. Content questions are distinguished from polar questions by the fact that they contain epistememes (§4.4.2) that have an interrogative function. As with polar questions, the questioned element, i.e. the epistememe, occurs in clause-initial position. For example, in (13-44), the questioned element is a temporal adverb, which occurs in clause-initial position:

- (13-44) *Selo anak=é sawah k=ini?*
 when offspring=3.POSS arrive to=this
 'When did his child get here?'

Epistememes can function as either indefinite pronouns (§4.4.2) or interrogative pronouns. Their interrogative functions are described in the following sections. The class of

epistememes was introduced in §4.4.2. They were listed in Table 4-5, which is repeated here:

Table 13-1: Epistememes

Full form	Short form	Meaning	Syntactic category	Short form with particle	Meaning
<i>sahan</i>	<i>sa</i>	'who'	noun	<i>sah pè</i>	'whoever'
<i>sanahan/ hanahan</i>	<i>sana/hana</i>	'what'	noun	<i>sanah pè</i>	'whatever'
<i>kunehen</i>	<i>kune</i>	'how'	noun	<i>kuneh pè</i>	'however'
<i>selohen</i>	<i>selo</i>	'when'	adverb	<i>seloh pè</i>	'whenever'
<i>sihen</i>	<i>si</i>	'where'	adverb	<i>sih pè</i>	'wherever'
<i>sesihen</i>	<i>si</i>	'which'	demonstrative		
<i>pien</i>		'how many'	quantifier		
<i>sekidah/sidah</i>		'how much'	quantifier		

13.2.2.1 Questioned direct constituents

A feature of questioned clausal constituents is that they are focused (Lambrecht 1994). In Gayo the questioned element is expressed as a predicative NP in an equative clause (§5.1.1). Questioned direct arguments of verbs are expressed as a cleft constructions (§14.7), with the argument (i.e. the NP constituent that is not questioned, and does not bear predicate focus) in clause-initial position. Consider the equative clause in example (13-45):

- (13-45) *Sa geral=mu?*
 who name=2.POSS
 'What is your name?'

Questioned arguments of verbal predicates are clefted (§14.7). The predicate is represented by an epistememe and the argument by a headless relative clause. Consider examples (13-46) and (13-47):

- (13-46) *Sana si i-pongot-i=ko?*
 what REL UO-weep-LOC=2.N.SUBJ
 'What are you crying about?'
- (13-47) *Sahan kahè si mun-urus reta=ni?*
 who later REL AO-manage wealth=this
 'Who will manage this wealth later?' (SLG:185)

The questioned element can be represented by an NP containing a modifying epistememe (§4.4.2), which can occupy the possessive (§10.3) and descriptive slots (§10.4) of the NP. Consider examples (13-48) and (13-49):

- (13-48) *Rege ni sana i-kune-i=ko?*
 price POSS what UO-ask-LOC=2.N.SUBJ
 'You are looking for the price of what?' (SLG:48)

- (13-49) *Ópôh sana, baju sana kin si i-tenun=è?*
 cloth what shirt what EMPH REL UO-weave=3.N.SUBJ
 'What type of cloth, what type of shirt is she weaving?' (SLG:27)

Sana/hana 'what' also occurs in the interrogative expressions *sana/hana kati* 'why, what is the cause of ...?', as in (13-50) and (13-51), and *kin sana* 'why, for what purpose?', as in (13-52):

- (13-50) *Sana kati ipon=mu mu-rayoh?*
 what so.that tooth=2.POSS INTR-bleed
 'Why are your teeth bleeding?' (IK:68)

- (13-51) A: *I-pesam-an wan oya.*
 UO-warm-CAUS1 inside:POSS that
 '(It, i.e. rice) was warmed inside that (warmer).'

B: *Hana kati?*
 what so.that
 'Why?'

A: *Kering kerô oya.*
 dry rice that
 'The rice was (already) dry.'

- (13-52) *Kin sana i-tebang batang n=ôlôh=a?*
 for what UO-cut.down trunk POSS=bamboo=that
 'What was that bamboo cut down for?'

13.2.2.2 Questioned oblique roles and adjuncts

The adverbs *selo(hen)* 'when' and *si(hen)* 'which, where' function as questioned constituents of time, place and manner, as demonstrated in examples (13-53) and (13-54) respectively:

- (13-53) *Selo gèh ko k=ini?*
 when come 2 to=this
 'When did you get here?'
- (13-54) *Si ara gajah putih?*
 where EXIST elephant white
 'Where is the white elephant?'

Si(hen) often occurs within a local PP (§11.1):

- (13-55) *Ku si malè ko beluh?*
 to where will 2 go
 'Where are you going?'
- (13-56) *I sihen ling ni jema mongot?*
 LOC where voice POSS person AO:weep
 'Where is the voice of the crying person (coming from)?'

There is a preference in Gayo for content questions to be expressed as equative clauses (§13.2.2.1). Questions asking 'when', 'how', and 'where', i.e. questioned peripheral roles,

often involve the non-questioned element to be expressed as nominalised-verb NPs (§4.3.3). Consider examples (13-57) to (13-59):

- (13-57) *Selo gèh ni ama?*
when come POSS father
'When did father come?'
- (13-58) *Kune belangi=é?*
how beautiful=3.POSS
'How beautiful is it?' (SLG:192)
- (13-59) *Ku si beluh=é?*
to where go=3.POSS
'Where did he go?'

13.2.3 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are assertions that are expressed as questions for rhetorical effect. They can follow the pattern of a polar question or a content question. Consider examples (13-60) and (13-61):

- (13-60) *Sana si i-teréh-i?*
what REL UO-afraid-LOC
'What is there to be afraid of?' (i.e. 'There is nothing to be afraid of.')
- (13-61) *Aduh ine ... berani ke aku munyerak-n=è?*
EXCLAM mother brave INT 1 AO:talk-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ
'Oh mother ... am I brave enough to say it?' (SLG:160)

Rhetorical questions are often distinguished from true questions by the fact that they are modified by the particle *die* (or *de*), which conveys a sense of surprise or wonderment. This particle can not occur in conjunction with interrogative particle *ke*. Consider examples (13-62) and (13-63):

- (13-62) *Yah, i si nge die, abang Pelanuk?*
EXCLAM LOC REL already RHET older.brother mousedeer
'Oh, where is he, that brother Mousedeer?' (Pelanuk)
- (13-63) *I si die i-suen=è kati gère gèh babi?*
LOC where RHET UO-plant=3.N.SUBJ so.that not come pig
'Where on earth can he plant (them) where a boar won't come (and get them)?'

Rhetorical questions are used to convey that a fact should be obvious to the interlocutor. They are typically preceded by the episteme *selo(hen)* 'when' in clause-initial position:

- (13-64) *Ike jema gère megah, selo i-cerak-an jema?*
if person not famous when UO-talk-CAUS1 person
'If someone isn't famous, when would people talk about them?'
- (13-65) *Te gère mu-jema i onè Inen Ipak, selo se-sering=te?*
CLAR not INTR-person LOC there Inen Ipak when RED-alone=our.INCL
'There aren't any people there Inen Ipak, when (would we go there) on our own?'

Rhetorical doubting questions can be formed with *sana (hana)* 'what' introducing the clause, as in (13-66):

- (13-66) *Wè bèwèn=é empu=é, hana gère kaya?*
 3 all=3.POSS property=3.POSS what not rich
 'He owns all of them, how could he not be rich (lit. '... what isn't rich?')

Rhetorical doubting questions can contain negated predicates, as in example (13-67):

- (13-67) *Selo gère i-betih=è sanah pè?*
 when not UO-know=3.N.SUBJ what also/even
 'As if he doesn't know anything!' [said sarcastically]

13.2.4 Focus particle: *kin(en)*

The focus particle *kin(en)* has a number of different functions when used in questions. It is placed directly after the questioned element of a content question, where an affirmative answer is anticipated. It has an emphatic function. This particle is used in content questions, conveying a sense of surprise or wonderment. Consider examples (13-68) to (13-71):

- (13-68) *Sahan kinen oya Ampun?*
 who EMPH that TITLE
 'Who is that, sire?' (SLG:216)
- (13-69) *Jadi, sana kin si i-kenal-i ama?*
 so what EMPH REL UO-look-LOC father
 'So, what are you looking for, father?' (SLG:230)
- (13-70) *Èh, manuk sana kinen si pengè-n.*
 EXCLAM bird what EMPH REL (UO-)hear-CAUS1
 'Hey, what sort of bird did (you) hear?'
- (13-71) A: *So nge gajah=ne!*
 yon already elephant=earlier
 'There is the elephant!'
- B: *Sihen kinen?*
 where EMPH
 'Where?' (SLG:147)

Kin(en) is also used in echoed polar questions, where a question is repeated or 'echoed' out of surprise:

- (13-72) A: *Mané wè gèh k=ini.*
 yesterday 3 come to=this
 'Yesterday he came here.'
- B: *Ara kinen wè gèh k=ini?*
 EXIST EMPH 3 come to=here
 'Did he really come here?'

Kin(en) can also be used in declarative utterances following an epistememe to form an indefinite pronoun (§4.4.2):

- (13-73) *I onè i-ara-n seluruh kesenian hana kin ara*
 LOC there UO-EXIST-CAUS1 all artform what EMPH EXIST
kesenian Gayô.
 artform Gayo
 'At that place were performed whatever kinds of the Gayo artforms that exist.'
 (Linge)
- (13-74) *Kune kinen sengsara=é nasip=te, gëre mu-daling*
 how EMPH miserable=3.POSS fate=1.POSS.INCL not INTR-tree.trunk
kolak kin se-serè-nen
 broad as RED-support-IMIT
 'However miserable our fate (will be), (we) won't have a strong person to support us (lit. '... we won't have a tree trunk as a support).'

13.3 Exclamations

Exclamations are used in languages to express emotion or strong feeling about the degree to which something is the case. Exclamatory clauses in Gayo are expressed as nominalised verb NPs (§4.3.3), and are typically introduced by the particle *dum*. Consider examples (13-75) and (13-76):

- (13-75) *Dum porak ni bēden=é kelem=ne!*
 EXCLAM hot POSS body=3.POSS night=earlier
 'How hot his body was last night!' (IK:240)
- (13-76) *Dum ues ni até=wé!*
 EXCLAM sad POSS liver=3.POSS
 'How sad she was!' (SLG:28)

Exclamatory clauses are not necessarily introduced by *dum*. In such cases the exclamatory nature of the clause is signalled by the fact that the nominalised-verb NP occurs on its own. Consider examples (13-77) and (13-78):

- (13-77) *Ogoh=mu pè, uén!*
 stupid=2.POSS also/even boy
 'How stupid you are, boy!' (SLG:337)
- (13-78) *Ine! Sakét ni tuke=ngku!*
 mother sick POSS stomach=1.POSS
 'Mother! How sick my stomach is!' (SLG:214)

Exclamatory clauses can also consist of a stative verb which is marked by =é '3.POSS', conveying a meaning of 'how [attribute]!'. These can occur with or without the particle *dum*. Consider examples (13-79) and (13-80):

- (13-79) *Dum temas=é.*
 EXCLAM pleasant=3.POSS
 'How pleasant (it is here)!'

- (13-80) *Hèk=é!*
tired=3.POSS
'How tiring!'

13.4 Negation

There are three verbs of negation in Gayo. *Gère* 'not' (§13.4.1) negates verbal predicates, and *nume* 'not' (§13.4.2) negates focused NPs. Prohibition is expressed by *enti* 'don't' (§13.4.3). There are two types of evidence that identify the status of the negators as verbs. Firstly, they can be immediately followed by a predicate-modifying adverbial particle (§12.3) such as *nè* 'ever, anymore', as in (13-81):

- (13-81) *Rawan-banan gère nè bersi-rô-nen.*
man-woman not anymore RECIP-look.after
'Men and women won't look after each other anymore.'

Secondly, the position of the negators in relation to the predicate they modifies is not fixed, a fact which distinguishes them from particles. The position of a negator is typically immediately preceding the predicate it modifies, as demonstrated in (13-82) with *gère* 'not':

- (13-82) *Gère mangan pè aku.*
not AO:eat also/even 1
'I haven't even eaten.'

A negator verb can be separated from the predicate it modifies by another constituent, such as a PP:

- (13-83) ... *Gère ku Biren beluh.*
not to Bireuen go
'(They) didn't go to Bireuen.'

Verbs of negation can also follow the predicate they modify for rhetorical effect:

- (13-84) *Jema si opat=ni ... serbe-tangung. Cerdik pè gère.*
person REL four=this mix-mediocre clever also/even not
'These four people were mediocre. Clever they weren't.'

The negator verbs are described in turn in §13.4.1 to §13.4.3. Negative responses can be made in a number of ways. These are described in §13.4.4.

13.4.1 *gère* 'not'

Gère 'not' negates the proposition expressed by a clause:

- (13-85) *Ayat Kor'an=a we, tapsir=é gère i-betih=è.*
verse Qur'an=that EMPH meaning=3.POSS not UO-know=3.N.SUBJ
'The verses of the Qur'an, he doesn't know their meaning.'
- (13-86) *Sekidah jema i onè gère ramah.*
some person LOC there not friendly
'Some people there are not friendly.'

In example (13-87), *gëre* negates a verb within a relative clause:

- (13-87) *Delé ilen buet=ku si gëre ilen mu-nge.*
 much still work=1.POSS REL not yet INTR-already
 'There is still much of my work that is not completed.'

Gëre also negates predicating PPs (§5.1.2). Consider example (13-88):

- (13-88) *Ama gëre i umah.*
 father not LOC house
 'Father is not in the house.'

13.4.2 *nume* 'not'

The negator verb *nume* specifies negation of focused NPs, signalling that there is an alternative or set of alternatives to the referent of the negated NP. *Nume* is typically used for negating NPs expressing identity, as in examples (13-89) and (13-90):

- (13-89) *Arang ni kerèta api nume arang biasa.*
 coal POSS train not coal usual
 'Coal for a train is not the usual (kind of) coal.' (IK:136)
- (13-90) *Si Métun-métun nume anak si i-lahir-n=è.*
 TITLE Métun-métun not offspring REL UO-born-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ
 'Métun-métun was not the child she had given birth to.' (Métun)

Nume negates clefted NPs (§14.7):

- (13-91) *Nume akang padih si i-tengkam.*
 not deer just REL UO-catch
 'It's not just deer that was caught.'

Contrast is one feature associated with narrow focus (Lambrecht 1994). Gayo sentences can contain two or more alternatives, with contrasted negative alternatives negated by *nume*:

- (13-92) *Manusie aku tengku, nume jén.*
 human I TITLE not spirit
 'I am a human sir, not a spirit.' (SLG:47)
- (13-93) *Kin ko le ku-osah hadiah=ne, nume kin jema lèn.*
 DAT 2 FOC UO.1-give gift=earlier not DAT person different
 'It was to you I gave the present, not anyone else.'

In (13-94), *nume* negates a verbal predicate that is already negated with *gëre*. The scope of *nume* is thus over both *gëre* and the verb it negates. This implies that there is some alternative to the negated proposition, and that the proposition expressed by the clause is not the case:

- (13-94) A: *Jema jëmen jelas.*
 person long.ago clear
 'People in the olden days were clear (i.e. they had good character).'

B: *Gère keras ling=é?*
not loud voice=3.POSS
'They didn't raise their voices?'

A: *Nume gère keras ling=é.*
not not loud voice=3.POSS
'It's not that they didn't have loud voices ... (it was because of something else).'

13.4.3 *enti* 'don't'

The negator *enti* is used to introduce clauses specifying prohibition. Consider examples (13-95) to (13-96):

(13-95) *Enti mi ko beluh anak=ku!*
don't SOF 2 go offspring=1.POSS
'Don't go my child!' (SLG:90)

(13-96) *Aku enti nè pongot-i ibi aku.*
1 don't anymore (UO-)weep-LOC aunt 1
'Don't cry for me any more, aunty.' (Ijô)

Enti can be used on its own as a negative response. This has a stronger, more emphatic sense than the negative response *enggéh* 'no' (§13.4.4):

(13-97) A: *Ngôk ke ku-pangan ini?*
can INT UO.1-eat this
'May I eat this?'

B: *Enti!*
don't
'No!'

Enti can modify stative verb predicates, conveying a meaning of 'don't be [attribute]':

(13-98) *Enti ko salah!*
don't 2 wrong
'Don't be mistaken.'

(13-99) *Bôh kerô, enti kemèl-kemèl!*
(UO-)add cooked.rice don't RED-shy
'Take some rice, don't be shy!'

(13-100) *Enti mu-le-lapé renyel buet-en.*
don't INTR-RED-hungry then (UO-)work-CAUS1
'Don't be hungry and then do (it).' (i.e. 'Don't work if you are hungry.')

Enti can convey discouragement in utterances addressed to the first person singular or plural, conveying a meaning of 'let's not ...' or 'we mustn't ...':

(13-101) *Kekëberen Peteri Pukes=ni kahè enti kite-silep.*
folk.tale princess Pukes=this later don't UO.1.INCL-forget
'The tale of Peteri Pukes we mustn't forget later.' (Pukes)

- (13-102) *Ara sara jema behu ari Kètól. Jadi, per-ama-n=é⁴*
 EXIST one person strong from Kètól so NOM-father=3.POSS
enti mi ku-peré-n.
 don't SOF 1.UO-say-CAUS1
 'There was a strong man from Kètól. His name I should not say.' (SLG:109)

Enti can be used in subordinate clauses expressing result or purpose, where it conveys a meaning of 'prevent'. In these cases, *enti* occurs in declarative, not imperative, clauses:

- (13-103) *Aku be-baju roa lapis kati enti sejuk.*
 I MID-shirt two layer so.that don't cold
 'I am using two shirts to stop the cold.'
- (13-104) *Te nge i-tutup mata=é pè, kati enti*
 CLAR already UO-shut eye=3.POSS also/even so.that don't
i-èngon=è jema.
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ person
 'His eyes were shut to stop him from seeing anyone.' (SLG:208)

Finally, *enti* can convey prohibition, having scope over predicates already negated by *gère*:

- (13-105) *Eleh pôn, enti gère i-betih pôn!*
 EXCLAM uncle don't not UO-know uncle
 'Oh uncle, don't be unaware of it uncle!' (lit. 'Oh uncle, don't not know!')
 (IK:131)
- (13-106) *Enti kasè gère inget!*
 don't later not UO:remember
 'Don't forget (it) later!' (lit. 'Don't not remember it later!')

13.4.4 Negative responses

The interjection *enggéh* is used as a negative response to polar questions (§13.2.1). Consider examples (13-107) and (13-108):

- (13-107) A: *Ara ke mu-demu urum Kil Lokot=ne?* B: *Enggéh.*
 EXIST INT AO:meet with Kil Lokot=earlier no
 'Did you meet Kil Lokot?' 'No.'
- (13-108) A: *Ara ke durin?* B: *Enggéh!*
 EXIST INT durian no
 'Is there any durian fruit?' 'No!'

Enggéh can be used in the place of *gère* 'not' in a negative response, conveying a more emphatic sense of denial:

- (13-109) A: *Ara ke uéh i wan telege ho?*
 EXIST INT water LOC inside:POSS well yon
 'Is there any water in that well?'

⁴ *per-ama-n(an)* (*per-...-(n)en* 'NOM' + father): 'male teknonym' (Appendix D).

- B: *Enggéh ara.*
not EXIST
'There isn't.'

Negative responses can also be given by repeating a questioned element of the clause, and negating it with *gëre* 'not' (§13.4.1):

- (13-110) A: *Waktu Abdul-Ra'oh gèh k=ini, ara ke urang Islam*
when Abdul-Ra'oh come to=this EXIST INT person Islam

i sien?

LOC here

'When Abdul-Ra'uf came here, were there any Muslims here?'

- B: *Gëre ara ilen.*
not EXIST still
'There weren't yet'

Part VI:
Complex sentences

14 *Relative clauses and other descriptive phrases*

This chapter covers relative clauses and other phrases that can occupy the descriptive slot (§10.4) of a complex NP. In §14.1, the different types of relativisation in Gayo are outlined. Verbal relative clauses are described in §14.2, and non-verbal relative clauses in §14.3. Headless relative clauses are described in §14.4. In §14.5, stacking of relative clauses is discussed. In §14.6 descriptive modification with strategies other than relativisation is described. Finally, clefting is described in §14.7.

14.1 Types of relativisation

As is typical of western Austronesian languages, Gayo follows a strategy of relativisation whereby the relativised noun is the obligatory missing argument (or ‘gap’) in the relative clause (Kroeger 1993; Artawa & Blake 1997). The gap in the relative clause must have the status of subject. Relative clauses in Gayo are introduced by the relativiser *si*. In examples (14-1) to (14-3), the relative clauses contain intransitive predicates represented by an unaffixed verb, an affixed intransitive verb, and an existential verb respectively. The relative clauses throughout this chapter are in square brackets.

- (14-1) *jema [si gintes kin aku]*
person REL surprised DAT I
‘the people who were surprised by me’
- (14-2) *keléték=mu [si m-osop=a]*
slippers=2.POSS REL INTR-go.missing=that
‘your slippers which have gone missing’
- (14-3) *serdadu ni Belene [si ara i kute Takèngen]*
soldier POSS Dutch REL EXIST LOC village Takengon
‘the Dutch soldiers who are in Takengon village’ (IK:100)

There is no distinct class of adjectives in Gayo (§4.3.4). Descriptive attributes are expressed as relative clauses containing stative verbs, as demonstrated in example (14-4):

- (14-4) *ume=mu [si lues]*
rice.paddy=2.POSS REL wide
‘your wide rice paddy’ (lit. ‘your rice paddy that is wide’)

The relative clauses in examples (14-5) and (14-6) contain transitive predicates with a relativised actor and a relativised undergoer respectively:

- (14-5) *urang tue [si mu-lahir-en tubuh=ku=ni]*
 person old REL AO-be.born-CAUS1 body=1.POSS=this
 'the parent who gave birth to me' (IK:97)
- (14-6) *kurik [si i-geléh=è=a]*
 chicken REL UO-slaughter=3.N.SUBJ=that
 'the chicken that he slaughtered'

With shorter relative clauses, typically those that contain a single stative verb, the relativiser *si* is often ellipsed:

- (14-7) *Ara bedil [(si) kôl].*
 EXIST gun REL big
 'There are some big guns (there).' (lit. 'There are some guns that are big (there).')
- (14-8) *Kite-èngon kiding [(si) tengah mu-lompet-lompet].*
 UO.1.INCL-see foot REL CONT INTR-RED-run
 'We saw feet which were running.' (IK:49)

All of the examples above contain restrictive relative clauses, i.e. the relative clause occupies the descriptive slot of a complex NP (§10.4). Relative clauses can also be 'appositive' or 'non-restrictive', occupying the apposition slot (§10.6) of a complex NP. These are formally distinguished from restrictive relative clauses by the fact that there is a pause in between the head noun and the relative clause. With restrictive relative clauses there is no pause between it and its head. Rather than providing information that identifies the referent of a head noun, non-restrictive relative clauses provide further information about a referent that has already been established. Example (14-9) contains a non-restrictive relative clause:

- (14-9) *Mumanang wè ku ine urum ama=é,*
 AO:look 3 to mother and father=3.POSS
[si mu-jadé-n diri=é ku denie=ni].
 REL AO-become-CAUS1 self=3.POSS to world=this
 'He looked at his mother and father, who had brought him into existence in this world.' (IK:23)

Non-restrictive relative clauses that contain stative verb predicates are often marked by =é '3.POSS'. For example, in (14-10), the stative verb within the relative clause has an attached enclitic that means out of the set of entities mentioned previously, those referred to by the headless relative clause are a smaller set:

- (14-10) *Baju-seruel ... [si ayu=é], osah toké.*
 shirt-trousers REL new=3.POSS (UO-)give trader
 'Give (me) the clothes that are new.' (lit. 'The shirts and trousers ... the ones that are new, give (them).') (SLG:48)

The predicate in non-restrictive relative clauses is typically reduplicated, as demonstrated in examples (14-11) and (14-12):

- (14-11) *Taring babi [si kôl-kôl=é].*
 remain pig REL RED-big=3.POSS
 'The pigs that were really big remained.' (i.e. Out of all the pigs, the really big ones stayed.)
- (14-12) *Denang=ko alas, i-pilih kasè turah [si*
 (UO-)spread=2.N.SUBJ mat UO-choose later must REL
belangi-belangi=é].
 RED-beautiful=3.N.SUBJ
 'Spread out some mats, those chosen must be the beautiful ones.' (SLG:88)
- (14-13) *[Si jeroh-jeroh=é,] osan=è kin Peteri Melélacanu.*
 REL RED-good:3.POSS (UO-)give-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ DAT princess Melélacanu
 'The good ones, he gave (them) to Princess Melélacanu.' (IK:183)

Clausal constituents can be characterised in terms of a hierarchy of roles that are accessible to relativisation (Keenan & Comrie 1977). Nouns that have core roles, e.g. agent, patient and experiencer, are modified by relative clauses containing predicates that are unaffixed or bear an intransitive affix or voice affix. Relative clauses modifying verbs with peripheral roles are mostly inaccessible to relativisation, but with certain verbs, a valence-increasing affix licenses arguments with peripheral roles, which are then accessible to relativisation. These facts are discussed in the following section.

14.2 Verbal relative clauses

14.2.1 Relativising arguments

Arguments with direct core roles are accessible to relativisation. Arguments accessible to relativisation are the subject argument of an intransitive predicate, or the actor or undergoer subject argument of a transitive predicate.

14.2.1.1 Relative clauses containing intransitive predicates

Intransitive predicates in relative clauses are distinguished from matrix predicates by the fact that they occupy the descriptive slot of a complex NP (§10.4), and the fact that they can be marked by the relativiser *si*. They can contain unaffixed intransitive predicates, as in (14-14) and (14-15):

- (14-14) *Bedil [si kôl].*
 gun REL big
 'A big gun.' (lit. 'A gun that is big.')
- (14-15) *Jamu [si gèh sine].*
 visitor REL come earlier
 'The visitor that came earlier.' (IK:81)

Or affixed predicates, as in (14-16) and (14-17):

- (14-16) *Umah [si mu-tèlong sine].*
 house REL INTR-burn earlier
 'The house that was burning earlier.' (IK:135)

- (14-17) *Kumpu=é [si mu-rantô jëmen].*
 grandchild=3.POSS REL AO-travel long.ago
 'Her grandchild who went travelling long ago.'

14.2.1.2 Relative clauses containing transitive predicates

The semantic role borne by the head of a relative clause containing a monotransitive predicate is signalled by a voice prefix on the verb within the relative clause. With relativised actor arguments in transitive clauses, the verb within the relative clause is marked by the actor prefix *mun-* (§7.1). Examples (14-18) and (14-19) contain relativised actor NPs:

- (14-18) *So kapal ni jema [si mungenal itik oya=wa].*
 yon ship POSS person REL AO:seek duck that=that
 'There is the ship of the person who was looking for the duck a while ago.'
 (SLG:232)
- (14-19) *Jema [si mu-jëge=è] tetap i sonè.*
 person REL AO-look.after=3.N.SUBJ remain LOC there
 'The person who looked after him remained there.' (SLG:49)

With relativised NPs that bear the role of undergoer, the verb in the relative clause is undergoer-oriented. Consider examples (14-20) and (14-21):

- (14-20) *Ini dengan=ku [si ku-kenal].*
 this opp.sex.sibling=1.POSS REL UO.1-seek
 'This is my sibling whom I have been looking for.' (Ijô)
- (14-21) *Kerô [si i-tekar=ne] mèh mu-jadi depik.*
 cooked.rice REL UO-discard=earlier finished AO-become k.o.fish
 'The rice that was thrown out has all turned into *depik* fish.' (Depik)

With ditransitive predicates (§8.2.1), as with monotransitive predicates, the verb within the relative clause is marked with the actor subject morphology to signal that the head of the relative clause is an actor:

- (14-22) *Oya jema [si n-osah kurik=te ku Aman Salman]?*
 who then REL AO-give chicken=our.INCL to Aman Salman
 'That's the person who gave our chicken to Aman Salman?'
- (14-23) *Oya jema [si n-osah Aman Salman kurik=te]?*
 that person REL AO-give Aman Salman chicken=our.INCL
 'That's the person who gave Aman Salman our chicken?'

With ditransitive verbs, either the goal or the theme argument can function as a subject. Accordingly, both the goal and the theme arguments are accessible to relativisation. In (14-24) and (14-25), the theme NPs function as the head of the relative clause. The goal is typically expressed as an oblique argument:

- (14-24) *Hadiah [si ku-osah kin ko] gëre mu-rege.*
 gift REL UO.1-give DAT 2 not INTR-value
 'The gift that I gave you is not valuable.'

- (14-25) *Peteri Melélacanu sine tengah mu-jantar kurik*
 princess Melélacanu earlier CONT AO-cook chicken
[si i-osah Tentum Kapur soboh=ne ku wè].
 REL UO-give Tentum Kapur morning=earlier to 3
 'Princess Melélacanu was cooking the chicken that was given to her
 by Tentum Kapur earlier that morning.' (IK:184)

The goal in a ditransitive clause can function as the head of a relative clause:

- (14-26) *Jema [si ku-osah awal=a] taring i Kebayakan.*
 person REL UO.1-give banana=that reside LOC Kebayakan
 'The person whom I gave the bananas to lives in Kebayakan.'

A goal NP of a ditransitive predicate can also be expressed as a direct argument when the theme is relativised, as in (14-27):

- (14-27) *Ini le bakô [si ku-osah anan mané].*
 this FOC tobacco REL UO.1-give grandmother yesterday
 'This is the tobacco that I gave grandmother yesterday.'

14.2.1.3 Relativising oblique arguments

With stative verbs and phrasal verbs, oblique roles, e.g. goal and stimulus, are usually expressed as oblique arguments. Such arguments can be expressed as direct arguments when the predicate bears a valence-increasing affix (§9), e.g. the locative suffix *-i* (§9.2). The stimulus argument can then function as the head of the relative clause. This is demonstrated in (14-28) with the stative verb *bengis* 'angry':

- (14-28) a. *Bengis wè kin aku.*
 angry 3 DAT 1
 'He was angry with me.'
- b. *Jema [si i-bengis-i guru].*
 person REL UO-angry-LOC teacher
 'The person that the teacher got angry with.'

Examples (14-29) and (14-30) demonstrate this further:

- (14-29) *Jema si taring=ni jema [si paling*
 person REL remain=this person REL most
i-sayang-i=é].
 UO-feel.compassion-LOC=3.N.SUBJ
 'The person who stayed behind was the person whom he loved most.'
 (*sayang* 'feel compassion (toward)') (IK:24)
- (14-30) *Dengan, [si i-horemat-i], gère ngôk i-panang jema.*
 sibling REL UO-respectful-LOC not can UO-view person
 '(Their) sisters, who are respected, should not be looked at by other people.'
 (*horemat* 'respectful (toward)') (IK:102)

The stimulus argument in a phrasal-verb construction (§5.2.4.2) can be relativised without a valence-increasing affix attached to the predicate. The stimulus is expressed as a NP. In

example (14-31a) the stimulus is expressed as an oblique argument, and in (14-31b) as a relativised NP:

- (14-31) a. *Geli até=wé kin ko.*
 hateful liver=3.POSS DAT 2
 'He hates you.'
- b. *Cume ara sara sipet [si geli até ni*
 just EXIST one characteristic REL hateful liver POSS
kumpu=é].
 grandchild=3.POSS
 'There's just one characteristic that her grandchildren hate.' (IK:127)

Relative clauses containing emotion-denoting phrasal verbs can also be expressed as nominalised-verb constructions (§4.3.3), with the relativised argument bearing the role of stimulus, as in (14-32):

- (14-32) *Oya le [si geli ni até=wé].*
 that FOC REL hateful POSS liver=3.POSS
 'That's what she hated.'

14.2.2 Relativisation of possessors

Relative clauses can contain a possessive NP (§10.3) that is coreferential with the head of the relative clause. Thus, relative clauses with a relativised possessive NP are distinct from other kinds of relativisation, in that the relative clause does not contain a 'gap', but a possessive enclitic that is coreferential with the head of the relative clause. Consider examples (14-33) to (14-36):

- (14-33) *Beta le cerite ni anak yatim [si maté ama=é].*
 thus FOC story POSS child orphan REL die father=3.POSS
 'It's like that, the story of the orphan child whose father died (lit. ... who his father died).' (IK:38)
- (14-34) *I-pilih ari si delé sara jema [si lebih tue umur=é].*
 UO-choose from REL many one person REL more old age=3.POSS
 'Chosen from the crowd was a person who was older (lit. ... who his age was older).' (IK:102)
- (14-35) *I si kin dokter [si delé ilmu=é]?*
 LOC where EMPH doctor REL much knowledge=3.POSS
 'Where is a doctor who has a lot of knowledge (lit. ... who his knowledge is much)?' (IK:47)
- (14-36) *Batang ng=kayu [si k=uet-en uah=é=a] nge*
 tree POSS=wood REL UO.1=take-CAUSI fruit=3.POSS=that already
mu-rebah.
 INTR-collapse
 'The tree that I took fruit from has fallen over.' (lit. 'The tree that I took its fruit has fallen over.')

Relative clauses can also contain nominalised-verb NPs (§4.3.3) that are coreferential with the head of the relative clause. Consider examples (14-37) and (14-38):

- (14-37) *Bier mu-demu urum bele [si kuneh pè kôl=é,]*
 although AO-meet with disaster REL how also/even big:3.POSS
wè tetap mengucep kalimah syahadat.¹
 3 remain (AO-)recite confession.of.faith
 'Although (they) will meet with a disaster however big it is, they will remain reciting the confession of faith.' (IK:42)
- (14-38) *Gère penah selama ini ku-pengé ling [si lagu n=oya]*
 not ever as.long.as this UO.1-hear voice REL way POSS=that
belangi=é].
 beautiful=3.POSS
 'Until now, I haven't heard a voice as beautiful as that.' (lit. 'For as long as this I haven't heard a voice that is like that it's beauty.')

14.2.3 Relativising oblique roles

Peripheral locative constituents can only be relativised if they are first encoded as direct arguments. In most cases, constituents with peripheral roles are inaccessible to relativisation. As stated in §9.2, the locative (valence-increasing) suffix *-i* licenses locative arguments when attached to verbs of motion. Relativisation of locative constituents is described in the following paragraphs.

With intransitive predicates that denote acts typically involving multiple participants, the locative suffix *-i* licenses a constituent denoting a locative into direct argument status. Intransitive verbs associated with the middle prefix *ber-* (§7.2) typically denote such acts. The complement NP can be brought into core status when the verb is suffixed with *-i*. Consider examples (14-39a and b):

- (14-39) a. *Be-cerak ama ku ine.*
 MID-talk father to mother
 'Father is talking to mother.'
- b. *Oya le jema [si ku-cerak-i mané].*
 that FOC person REL UO.1-talk-LOC yesterday
 'That's the person to whom I talked yesterday.'

This strategy can also be employed with other verbs that denote inherently reciprocal acts:

- (14-40) *Wè gère mu-beli perhiesen kin banan mude [si ben]*
 3 not AO-buy jewellery for woman young REL just
i-kerje-i=é].
 UO-marry-LOC=3.N.SUBJ
 'He didn't buy any jewellery for the young woman whom he just married.'
 (*kerje* 'marry') (Syamsuddin 1979:52)

¹ *mengucap kalimah syahadat* (M/BI): 'say the (Muslim) confession of faith'.

- (14-41) *Ngôk mien mu-demu urum be-beru [si mané*
 can again AO-meet with RED-girl REL yesterday
i-demu-i=é].
 UO-meet-LOC=3.N.SUBJ
 '(He) could again meet with the girl whom he met yesterday.'
 (*mu-demu* 'meet') (IK:22)

A location can function as the head of the relative clause, as demonstrated in examples (14-42) and (14-43):

- (14-42) *Alas [si ku-kunul-i=a] gëre temas.*
 mat REL UO.1-sit-LOC=that not nice
 'The mat that I am sitting on is not comfortable.' (*kunul* 'sit')
- (14-43) *I-sintak-n=è pedang ari tuyuh ni alas*
 UO-pull-CAUSI=3.N.SUBJ sword from bottom POSS mat
[si i-nomé-i=é].
 REL UO-lie.down-LOC=3.N.SUBJ
 'He pulled a sword from under the mat that he slept on.'
 (*mu-nomé* 'lie down') (IK:163)

Note that only location, not source or goal, are specified with applicativised derivations based on transitive roots. Consider examples (14-44a and b):

- (14-44) a. *Aku malè beluh ku Takèngen.*
 I will go to Takèngen
 'I will go to Takèngen.'
- b. *Kampung [si nge mèh ku-beluh-i].*
 village REL already finished UO.1-go-LOC
 'The village that I've been all over.' (*The village that I've been to.)

To relativise a noun which refers to a goal of motion, a transitive verb such as *i-èntong* 'visit' must be used within the relative clause:

- (14-45) *Kampung [si malè ku-èntong] gép ari Takèngen.*
 village REL will UO.1-visit far from Takèngen
 'The village that I will go to is far from Takèngen.' (lit. 'The village that I will visit is far from Takèngen.')

14.3 Non-verbal relative clauses

A feature of many Austronesian languages is the use of particles linking modifiers to their head nouns in a complex noun phrase (Foley 1976). As we have seen, the particle *si* introduces relative clauses whose head is represented by a gap. However, *si* can also mark modifying elements other than verbs. Relative clauses can contain measure phrases, adverbs, or nouns. These are discussed in the following subsections.

14.3.1 Relative clauses containing measure phrases

Although measure phrases can occupy the slot immediately preceding the head of the NP, i.e. the measure slot (§10.2), they can also occupy the descriptive slot following the NP head. Measure phrases occur within the descriptive slot when the referent of the NP head is topical, i.e. it has already been introduced. Relative clauses can contain numerals:

- (14-46) *Mu-sangka renye paké [si onom=ni=ne].*
 INTR-run then person REL six=this=earlier
 'Then these six people ran.' (SLG:62)
- (14-47) *Rawan-banan sayang pedi kin anak=é [si sara].*
 man-woman feel.compassion very DAT offspring=3.POSS REL one
 'The man and woman love very much their only child.'

Relative clauses can also contain complex number phrases (§10.2.1):

- (14-48) *Belene [si lime belas jema sine pè] nomé.*
 Dutch REL five teen person earlier also/even AO-lie.down
 'The fifteen Dutchmen were sleeping earlier.' (IK:219)
- (14-49) *Kelem [si ser=ingi=ni] be-genap kite.*
 evening REL one=night=this MID-gather we.INCL
 'This very night we are having a gathering.'

Certain quantifiers can also occur within relative clauses; these are the quantifiers *delé* 'much, many' and *tikik* 'a little':

- (14-50) *Mu-sôt kumpu=é [si delé].*
 INTR-answer grandchild=3.POSS REL many
 'Her many grandchildren answered.'

14.3.2 Relative clauses containing adverbs

Adverbs (§4.4.1) can occur within relative clauses, occupying the descriptive slot of a complex NP:

- (14-51) *Wè nge senang urum suami=é [si besilô=ni].*
 3 already happy with husband=3.POSS REL now=this
 'She is happy with her current husband.' (lit. 'She is happy with her husband that is now.') (IK:38)

14.3.3 Relative clauses containing NPs

Relative clauses can contain NPs. In example (14-52) the noun within the relative clause refers to an entity that is a restricted set of what is referred to by the head of the relative clause:

- (14-52) *Sejarah ni jema [si ahli nujum] mèh i-seluk=è.*
 history POSS person REL expert star finished UO-compose=3.N.SUBJ
 'The entire history of the person who was a soothsayer was composed by him.'
 (SLG:43)

Nouns specifying age and gender often occur within relative clauses:

- (14-53) *Kumpu=é si беру mungune ...*
 grandchild=3.POSS REL girl AO:ask
 ‘Her granddaughter asked ...’ (lit. ‘Her grandchild who was a girl asked ...’)
 (IK:18)
- (14-54) *Anak rawan [si nge bujang] pè, delé buet=é.*
 offspring male REL already boy also/even much work=3.POSS
 ‘Male children who are already (adolescent) boys have a lot of work.’ (IK:112)

Relative clauses can also contain possessive phrases (§10.3), as in example (14-55):

- (14-55) *[Si ni kam] kin kam, [si ni kami] kin kami.*
 REL POSS 2.PL for 2.PL REL POSS 2.PL.EXCL for we.EXCL
 ‘That which is yours is for you, that which is ours is for us.’ (IK:50)

14.3.4 Relative clauses containing PPs

14.3.4.1 PPs that can occur within relative clauses

Relative clauses can contain PPs. The preposition *kin* ‘as’ signals an ascriptive relationship. PPs headed by *kin* can occur within relative clauses, meaning ‘who/what is [function]’:

- (14-56) *T[en]jiro-n ni ama [si malè kin umé=wé]*
 NOM-request POSS father REL will as parent.in.law=3.POSS
turah oya.
 must that
 ‘The dowry of the father who will be his father-in-law must (be) that.’ (IK:25)

PPs headed by the locative prepositions *i* and *ku* ‘from’ can occur within relative clauses:

- (14-57) *Pakat=è bèwèn=te [si i atan kapal=ni].*
 (UO-)gather=3.N.SUBJ all=our.INCL REL LOC top:POSS ship=this
 ‘He gathered all of us who were on the ship.’ (SLG:170)
- (14-58) *Kune pe-rasa-n sara anak беру [si ari kucak sawah]*
 how NOM-feel one offspring girl REL from small arrive
ku kôl], tibe-tibe mu-pisah ari ine-ama.
 to big suddenly INTR-separate from mother-father
 ‘What are the feelings of a young girl, who from young to old, is suddenly separated from her parents.’ (IK:78)

14.3.4.2 Modifying instrumental nouns

NPs bearing the role of instrument are relativised by deriving a noun from a verb with the instrumental prefix *pen-* (§4.2.3.1). The derived noun functions as the complement of the ascriptive preposition *kin* ‘as’. Thus, instrumental descriptive phrases are in fact non-verbal PP complements of *si*. In such cases *si* is optional, and is typically ellipsed:

- (14-59) *Oya le lopah [(si) kin peng-geléh ni kurik].*
 that FOC knife REL as INSTR-slaughterer POSS chicken
 'That's the knife used to slaughter the chicken.' (lit. 'This is the knife
 that is as the slaughterer of the chicken.')

The PP headed by *kin* also occurs as an adjunct constituent in relative clauses containing the transitive verb *i-pakèk* 'use':

- (14-60) *Ini wu [si ku-pakèk kin penengkam ni gulé].*
 this fish.trap REL UO.1-use as INSTR:trap POSS fish
 'This is a fish trap which I use as a trap for fish.'

14.4 Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses are relative clauses without an overt head noun, functioning as independent NPs rather than as nominal modifiers. Headless relative clauses have the same syntactic functions as other NPs, i.e. predicate, subject, non-subject, or within a PP. Examples (14-61) and (14-62) contain headless relative clauses:

- (14-61) *Nge hèk kasè [si mun-awé].*
 already tired later REL AO-swim
 'The ones who are swimming will be tired later.' (SLG:33)
- (14-62) *[Si i-nikah-i=é] jema si gëre mera urum wè.*
 REL UO-marry-LOC=3.N.SUBJ person REL not want with 3
 'The one whom he married was a person who didn't want (to be) with him.'
 (IK:94)

Headless relative clauses can contain non-verbal constituents. The relative clause in (14-63) contains a measure phrase:

- (14-63) *Kire-kire jem empat sawah [si onom=ne] k=umah.*
 approximately hour four arrive REL six=earlier to=house
 'At about four o'clock, the six arrived home.' (SLG:60)

Headless relative clauses can also contain NPs. With NPs, the headless relative clause conveys a meaning of 'that which is N' or 'that which will be N', where N is the referent of the NP. Consider examples (14-64) and (14-65):

- (14-64) *[Si hak=te] gëre dis urum hak n=jema=wa.*
 REL right=our.INCL not same with right POSS=person=that
 'That which is our right is not the same as the rights of other people.'
 [The speaker is discussing use of property for grazing cattle etc.]
- (14-65) *Siep-en alat, segële alat, [si selpah-selpah] geral=é,*
 prepare-CAUS1 tool all tool REL RED-provision name=3.POSS
[si oros], [si sana ...]
 REL uncooked.rice REL what
 'Prepare the tools, all of the tools, provisions is what they're called,
 the rice, whatever (else) ...' (Depik)

14.5 Stacking of relative clauses

A single noun can be modified by more than one relative clause. For example, in (14-66) the episteme *sanahan* ‘what’ has an indefinite pronominal function, and is modified by two relative clauses:

- (14-66) *Ara se-sanah [si terjadi] [si göre kite-kenak-i ...]*
 EXIST RED-what REL happen REL not UO.1.INCL-desire-LOC
 ‘There was something that happened that we didn’t want ...’ (IK:238)

Where more than one relative clause modifies a single noun, and the verbs within the relative clauses belong to the same syntactic category, the first relative clause is marked by *si*, and subsequent relative clauses are not:

- (14-67) *Sara anak beru [si mun-angô uéh], [mu-jerang kerô],*
 one child girl REL AO-fetch water AO-cook rice
[mun-uling], [ber-utem ku bur si atas].
 AO-winnow MID-firewood to mountain REL high
 ‘A girl who fetches water, cooks rice, winnows (rice), collects firewood
 in the high mountains.’ (IK:78)

14.6 Descriptive modification with strategies other than relativisation

As described in §14.2.3 above, valence-increasing affixation licenses some oblique arguments and peripheral constituents to direct argument status. However, this strategy is restricted to only some verbs. Other strategies are employed for modifying nouns with peripheral roles. In the following sections, these are referred to as descriptive phrases, as they occupy the descriptive slot of complex NPs. They are, however, distinct from relative clauses.

14.6.1 Locations

In a strategy similar to relativisation, locative constituents can occur as the head of a complex NP whose descriptive slot contains a verbal predicate. In these constructions the actor argument of the predicate in the descriptive phrase is expressed as a possessive phrase marking the noun *ton* ‘place’. These are not apposed NPs (§10.6), as there is no pause in between the head noun and the descriptive phrase that modifies it. These constructions are functionally similar to relative clauses. Consider examples (14-68) and (14-69):

- (14-68) *Ini le bumi [ton=te be-perang].*
 this FOC ground place=our.INCL MID-war
 ‘This is the ground where we will fight the war.’
 (lit. ‘This is the ground our place of fighting the war.’) (IK:65)
- (14-69) *Anak ni rēje=ni mu-langkah-an kiding dekat ku jamur*
 offspring POSS king=this AO-step-CAUS1 foot near to cottage
[ton n=temuluk=é mu-guel teganing sine].
 place POSS=slave=3.POSS AO-strike gong earlier
 ‘The king’s child stepped closer to the small cottage where his slave was
 striking the gong.’ (lit. ‘Carefully the king’s child stepped his feet near to
 the small cottage, his slave’s place of striking the gong before.’) (IK:191)

14.6.2 Comitatives

A strategy is employed for modifying comitative participants in a similar way to locative modification, employing the noun *pong* 'friend, companion' in the same way that *ton* 'place' is used for locatives. Consider examples (14-70) and (14-71):

- (14-70) *Malè mumengé kekēberen ari awah ni jema tue*
 will AO:hear folk.tale from mouth POSS person old

[*pong=é nomé*].

friend=3.POSS lie.down

'(They) will hear a folk tale from the mouth of the old person with whom they slept.' (IK:34)

- (14-71) *Oya le jema [pong=ku beluh ku kedé].*
 that FOC person friend=1.POSS go to market
 'That's the person with whom I went to the market.'

14.7 Clefting

Cleft constructions are clauses whose participants have non-canonical focal stress assignment. In these clauses, there is narrow focus on one of the participants in the state of affairs described by the verb. Clefted core constituents are represented by equative clauses consisting of a predicate represented by a NP, typically marked by the focus particle *le* (§12.4.1.1), and an argument that is represented by a headless relative clause (§14.4). The gap in the relative clause is co-referential with the clefted NP. Stress in cleft constructions falls on the initial NP, identifying it as the predicate. For example, the unmarked clause in (14-72a) contains a verbal predicate. In (14-72b) the NP representing the experiencer is clefted, and has predicate focus:

- (14-72) a. *Bengis ama kin abang.*
 angry father DAT older.brother
 'Father is angry with older brother.'
 b. *Ama le si bengis kin abang*
 father FOC REL angry DAT older.brother
 'It's father who is angry with older brother.'

Examples (14-73) and (14-74) contain a clefted actor and a clefted undergoer respectively:

- (14-73) *Aku le si mumaré-n lopah=a ku wan lemari.*
 I FOC REL AO:put-CAUSI knife=that to inside:POSS cupboard
 'I am the one who put the knife into the cupboard.'
 (14-74) *Kôrô le si ku-pikir-i.*
 buffalo FOC REL UO.I-think-LOC
 'It's (my) buffaloes that I'm thinking about.' (SLG:61)

In Gayo, content questions (§13.2.2) are expressed as cleft constructions, as questioned NPs are always focused. Consider example (14-75):

- (14-75) *Sahan si t[em]unuh?*
 who REL INTR-tired
 'Who is tired?'

Adjuncts can also be clefted, in which case the adjunct retains its status as a peripheral constituent of the clause. Consider example (14-76):

- (14-76) *I onè le kahè Peteri Pukes mu-jadi atu.*
 LOC there FOC later princess Pukes AO-become stone
 'It is at that place that Peteri Pukes will turn into a stone.'

15 *Complement clauses*

In this chapter, complement clauses are described. Complement clauses are one of three types of subordinate clause in Gayo. The other kinds of subordinate clauses are relative clauses (Chapter 14) and adverbial clauses (§16.1). A complement clause functions as the argument of a higher matrix predicate. In some cases complement clauses are introduced by a complementiser. Complementisers are discussed in §15.1. In §15.2, various verbal complement-taking predicates are surveyed. Finally, in §15.3 various nouns that take clausal complements are described.

Grammatical parameters relevant to the discussion of complement-taking predicates are as follows. Firstly, matrix predicates can be classified on the basis of their morphosyntactic category; matrix predicates can be represented by affixed or unaffixed intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, or nouns. Secondly, matrix predicates can be categorised on the basis whether or not they can share an argument with the complement clause, i.e. controlled versus non-controlled complementation. Thirdly, transitive matrix predicates are distinguished between those that take undergoer arguments as well as the clausal complement, and those that do not take a separate undergoer argument.

15.1 The complementiser *bahwa*

Complement clauses without equi-NP deletion, and where the matrix has a separate NP argument, can be introduced by a complementiser. Some complementisers are associated with particular matrix predicates, and are described in the relevant sections. Complement clauses marked by the complementiser *bahwa* ‘that’ can occur with a range of matrix types. Consider examples (15-1) and (15-2), which contain an intransitive and a transitive matrix respectively:

- (15-1) *Kite turah percaya [bahwa manusia mu-kelebihan ari*
we.INCL must have.faith that human INTR-more from
mahluk lèn so].
creature different yon
‘We must have faith that humans possess more than other creatures.’ (IK:171)
- (15-2) *I-èngon=è [bahwa kerô si i-tekar=ne mèh*
UO-see=3.N.SUBJ that cooked.rice REL UO-discard=earlier finished

mu-jadi depik].
 AO-become k.o.fish

'He saw that the rice which had been discarded had all become depik.'

Bahwa 'that' is often used where complements are separated from their matrix predicate, or where possible structural ambiguities exist. In (15-3) the complement is separated from its matrix by an adjunct (i.e. 'with clear eyes'):

- (15-3) *Nge kite-èngon urum mata si terang [bahwa mata ni*
 already UO.1.INCL-see with eye REL clear that eye POSS
ulen ara roa].
 moon EXIST two
 'We saw with clear eyes, that there were two moons.' (IK:50)

Bahwa is often not used where there is no ambiguity as to the complement status of the clause. Consider example (15-4):

- (15-4) *I-èngon=è [anak=é gère ulak].*
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ offspring=3.POSS not return
 'He saw that his child hadn't returned.' (Métun)

The discussion of each matrix type in the following sections includes whether or not *bahwa* 'that' can precede the complement clause. This is useful in determining the syntactic status of NP arguments, i.e. which predicate they belong to. Other conjunctions that can be used as complementisers are: *ike* 'if' (§16.1.4) and *buge* 'hopefully' (§15.2.1.4.1). In the sections that follow, the various different types of complement-taking predicates are discussed.

15.2 Complement-taking predicates

15.2.1 Intransitive predicates

Two types of intransitive complement-taking predicates can be distinguished in Gayo. Firstly, controlled predicates, i.e. predicates that take a NP argument and a complement with an equi-deleted subject (§15.2.1.2); and secondly, verbs of emotion, which take an oblique argument PP when they do not take a complement clause. With complement-taking verbs of emotion, an argument may or may not be shared between the matrix and its complement.

15.2.1.1 Existentials

The stative existential verb *ara* (§5.2.4.1.1) takes a clausal complement where there is an assumption or expectation that the contrary is the case, or to emphasise that the state of affairs in the complement is indeed the case. Consider examples (15-5) and (15-6):

- (15-5) *Gère ara [kite-pengé manuk oya mu-ling].*
 not EXIST UO.1.INCL-hear bird that INTR-sound
 'We didn't hear that bird calling.' (SLG:168)

- (15-6) *Kedang ara [mu-demu urum paké si gerilya=wa].*
 maybe EXIST AO-meet with person REL guerilla=that
 'Maybe (you) met with those guerillas.' (IK:98)

The inceptive existential verb *jadi* 'become' (§5.2.4.1.2) differs from *ara* in that *jadi* conveys a sense that the event was expected, while with *ara*, there is no sense that the event was expected:

- (15-7) *Gëre jadi [ko beluh ku Isak]!*
 not happen 2 go to Isak
 'You didn't end up going to Isak!'

15.2.1.2 Controlled intransitive predicates

In this section I describe intransitive predicates that can take a complement clause with an equi-deleted subject. The controller of the equi-deleted NP is always a subject. Controlled intransitive predicates are often used to express modal (§12.2) and abilitative meanings (§15.2.1.2.1). In example (15-8) the modal verb *mera* 'want' (§12.2.3) takes a clausal complement whose subject is coreferential with the subject in the matrix clause, and is equi-deleted:

- (15-8) *Wè mera [Ø mu-beli=é.]*
 3 want AO-buy=3.N.SUBJ
 'He wants to buy it.'

The NP of such a complement is an argument of the matrix predicate in its own right. This can be seen by the fact that it can be relativised by the matrix, as demonstrated in (15-9):

- (15-9) *Sahan si mera [mumengè-n ling=é]?*
 who REL want AO:hear-CAUS1 voice=3.POSS
 'Who wants to listen to what he says (lit. ... his voice)?' (IK:161)

Furthermore, such verbs can function as the head of a NP, with the argument of *mera* expressed as a modifying possessor, as in (15-10):

- (15-10) *Oya ke si mera=mu?*
 that INT REL want=2.POSS
 'Is that what you want?'

Predicates of pretence also fit within this pattern, but have some features that distinguish them from other controlled intransitive predicates. They are discussed in §15.2.1.2.2.

15.2.1.2.1 Predicates specifying abilitative meanings

Intransitive complement-taking predicates can also express abilitative meanings. Examples include *teles* 'visible', *teridah* 'visible', *terang* 'clear, understood', *tures* 'clear, audible', *sempat* 'have time to' and *réla* 'ready'. Consider examples (15-11) to (15-13):

- (15-11) *Gëre sempat wè [mu-sôi].*
 not have.time.to 3 INTR-answer
 'He had no time to answer.' (IK:192)

- (15-12) *Teles iring ni gajah kôl-kucak [tengah r[em]alan ter*
 visible line POSS elephant big-small CONT INTR-walk PROX
ton=a].
 place=that
 'The line of elephants was visible walking at that place.' (IK:49)
- (15-13) *Panglime perang sabil pè nge réla [maté].*
 commander war way also/even already ready dead
 'The commander of the resistance (lit. in the war of the [sanctified] way)
 was ready to die (i.e. as a martyr).' (IK:218)

15.2.1.2.2 Predicates specifying pretence

Two verbs that have similar patterning to the other controlled complement-taking verbs, are those denoting meanings of pretence. These are *pura-pura* 'pretend' and *écé'-écé'* 'pretend':

- (15-14) *Wè pura-pura [pané mu-baca koran].*
 3 pretend clever AO-read newspaper
 'He is pretending that he is able to read the newspaper.'
- (15-15) *Wè écé'-écé' [sakét].*
 3 pretend sick
 'She is pretending to be sick.'

However, unlike other controlled intransitive predicates, predicates of pretence can take a complement clause containing a (transitive) predicate whose non-subject is coreferential with the subject of the matrix. The non-subject is not equi-deleted. Consider example (15-16):

- (15-16) *Wè pura-pura [gëre i-betih=è].*
 3 pretend not UO-know=3.N.SUBJ
 'He is pretending that he doesn't know.'

15.2.1.3 Complements of oblique argument-taking predicates

A number of intransitive verbs can take clausal complements. These verbs specify emotion or cognition, and are distinguished from other intransitive complement-taking predicates by the fact that they can take either controlled or non-controlled complements, i.e. the subject argument of the complement clause may or may not be shared with the subject argument of the matrix predicate. These verbs are discussed in the following.

The oblique argument-taking verbs can take complements whose subject argument is coreferential with the subject of the matrix predicate, and is equi-deleted in the complement. Such verbs include *lupen* 'forget', *teréh* 'afraid', *héran* 'surprised' and *gintes* 'surprised'. Consider examples (15-7) to (15-19):

- (15-17) *Lupen wè [beluh ku kedé].*
 forget 3 go to market
 'She forgot to go to the market.'

- (15-18) *Jamang héran [mumengé ling ni manuk sine].*
 Jamang surprised AO:hear sound POSS bird earlier
 'Jamang was surprised to hear the sound of the birds before.' (IK:15)

- (15-19) *Wè teréh [i-dere jema].*
 3 afraid UO-strike person
 'He is afraid that he will be hit by someone.'

Phrasal-verb constructions (§5.2.4.2) such as *galak (até)* 'happy, like (to)', *héran (até)* 'surprised (to)' and *geli (até)* 'hate (to)' also follow this pattern:

- (15-20) *Galak até=wé [taring i sien].*
 happy liver=3.POSS live LOC here
 'He likes living here.'

- (15-21) *Héran até ni anan=é sine [mun-èngon tingkah ni kumpu=é sine].*
 surprised liver POSS grandmother=3.POSS earlier AO-see
 behaviour POSS grandchild=3.POSS earlier
 'The grandmother was surprised to see the behaviour of her grandchild.' (IK:91)

The noun *até* 'liver, seat of emotion' can occur on its own as a matrix predicate in such constructions, conveying a meaning of 'want to, feel like':

- (15-22) *Gère até=wé [i-perintah Belene].*
 not liver=3.POSS UO-order Dutch
 'They didn't feel like being ordered around by the Dutch.' (IK:216)

With the exception of *até* 'want to, feel like' (lit. 'liver'), many oblique argument-taking verbs can also take a complement clause with a subject that is not coreferential with the actor argument of the matrix clause. As such, these complements can be introduced by *bahwa* (§15.1). Consider (15-23) and (15-24):

- (15-23) *Gère galak até=wé [bahwa anak=é nge m-ayo Islam].*
 not happy liver=3.POSS that offspring=3.POSS already
 INTR-enter Islam
 'They aren't happy that their child embraced Islam.'

- (15-24) *Wè teréh [(bahwa) mu-tuang minyak].*
 3 afraid that INTR-spill oil
 'He is afraid (that) the petrol will spill.'

Some intransitive verbs of emotion/cognition can take only non-controlled complements. Examples of such verbs are *yakin* 'be certain (that)', *paham* 'understand (that)', *pikir*, *be-pikir* 'think (that)' and *percaya/pecaya* 'believe (that)'. Consider the examples (15-25) to (15-27):

- (15-25) *Yakin kahè nge kite bèwèn=te [bahwa nge gèh keadilan ari Tuhen ku kite].*
 certain later already we.INCL all=our.INCL that already come
 justice from God to we.INCL
 'We will all be certain that justice from God will have come to us.' (IK:157)

- (15-26) *Nge paham aku [ko turah patuh kin perintah=é].*
 already understand 1 2 must obedient DAT order=3.POSS
 'I understand that you must obey their orders.' (IK:57)
- (15-27) *Merah Mège be-pikir [bahwa kurik=ni pè*
 Merah Mège MID-think that chicken=this also/even
i-tuker-ni alik=é].
 UO-change-CAUS1 relative=3.POSS
 'Merah Mege thought that the chicken had been changed by her relative.'
 (SLG:59)

Finally, predicates of desire can be expressed as NPs headed by the verb *kenak* 'desire, want'. The verbal clause is not marked by *bahwa* in such cases and the complement is non-controlled, i.e. there is no equi-deletion. The only indicator that the NP and its complement constitute a single complex sentence lies in the fact that there is no pause in between them, as there is in paratactic constructions. Consider examples (15-28) and (15-29):

- (15-28) *Kenak=ku [ko mi we ku-pangan]!*
 desire=1.POSS 2 SOF EMPH UO.1-eat
 'I would like to eat you!' (lit. 'I desire that I eat you!') (SLG:135)
- (15-29) *Kenak=é [wè pè ara mu-pèng lagu oya].*
 desire=3.POSS 3 also/even EXIST INTR-money way that
 'He desired that he (himself) would have money like that.' (IK:35)

15.2.1.4 Intransitive predicates of saying

Predicates of saying can be categorised into two kinds: those that take complements specifying indirectly reported speech (§15.2.1.4.1), and those that take complements specifying directly reported speech (§15.2.1.4.2). Predicates are either transitive or intransitive. Transitive predicates of saying are described in §15.2.2.5.

15.2.1.4.1 Indirectly reported speech

Intransitive predicates of saying include *be-cerak* 'talk', *be-kalam* 'talk', *ber-unger* 'say' and *pe-cogah* 'lie'. Consider examples (15-30) to (15-32):

- (15-30) *Kami nge be-kalam [bahwa ike nge sawah ketike=é,*
 we.EXCL already MID-talk that if already arrive time=3.POSS
kami kerje].
 we.EXCL marry
 'We have said that when the time arrives, we will marry.' (IK:89)
- (15-31) *Ara jema pong=é ber-unger [bahwa ara anak=é*
 EXIST person friend:3.POSS MID-say that EXIST offspring=3.POSS
jema rawan].
 person male
 'A friend of his said that he has son.'

- (15-32) *Pe-cogah Cik Serule [bahwa i onè i-èngon=è].*
 T.EXT-lie TITLE Serule that LOC there UO-see=3.N.SUBJ
 'Cik Serule lied that he saw (it).'

Complements of the verb *be-doa* 'pray' are introduced by the conjunction *buge* 'hopefully':

- (15-33) *Be-doa wè ku Tuhen [buge mu-jadi atu].*
 MID-pray 3 to God hopefully AO-become stone
 'He prayed to God that (he) would turn into a stone.' (IK:26)

15.2.1.4.2 Directly reported speech

Directly reported speech is marked by the quotative verbal construct *gèh kenè* ('come' + 'say'), which is often realised as *kenè* or *ken* in casual speech. The NP referring to the speaker of the reported speech, if specified, is represented by an NP that follows the quotative verb; it cannot precede it. *Gèh kenè* can mark statements, questions or commands. Consider examples (15-34) to (15-36):

- (15-34) *Gèh kenè abang gajah, 'Ari si ko Abang*
 come say older.brother elephant from where 2 older.brother
Pelanuk?'
 mousedeer
 'Brother Elephant asked, "Where have you been, Brother Mousedeer?"'
 (Pelanuk)
- (15-35) *'Keta beluh mi aku,' gèh kenè.*
 then go SOF I come say
 "'Then I'll get going", (he) said.'
- (15-36) *'Kunul!' kenè.*
 sit say
 "'Sit down!" (she) said.'

As is typical with predicates of directly reported speech (McGregor 1992), the position of the quotative verb is versatile. It can precede or follow reported speech as demonstrated in the preceding examples, but it can also intrude into the reported speech, as in example (15-37):

- (15-37) *'I langit', kenè, 'Ara bintang tujuh ...'*
 LOC sky say EXIST star seven
 "'In the sky", (so they) say, "There are seven stars ..."

Thoughts or feelings are directly quoted with the phrasal-verb construction *kenè até*:

- (15-38) *'Ini tentu ara se-sana', kenè até=wé.*
 this certain EXIST RED-what say liver=3.POSS
 "'There certainly is something here", he thought.' (lit. '... said his liver.')
 (IK:49)

Gèh kenè can take a NP argument only when the NP is an episteme (§4.4.2). Examples (15-39) and (15-40) contain interrogative arguments, and (15-41) an indefinite pronoun complement:

- (15-39) *Sana kenè ko?*
 what say 2
 'What did you say?'
- (15-40) *Hana gèh kenè?*
 what come say
 'What did (s/he) say?'
- (15-41) *Keta ke kuneh pè kenè ko, kite turah ulak k=umah.*
 then BCKGR how also/even say 2 we.INCL must return to=house
 'No matter what you say, we must return home.' (SLG:232)

15.2.2 Transitive complement-taking predicates

Three general types of transitive complement-taking predicates can be distinguished in Gayo. These are predicates of perception or cognition (§15.2.2.2), predicates of trying (§15.2.2.3) and predicates of manipulation (§15.2.2.4).

15.2.2.1 The syntax of transitive complement-taking predicates

Except for the manipulative predicates (§15.2.2.4), syntactically transitive matrix predicates are required to be undergoer-oriented; they cannot be actor-oriented. Consider examples (15-42) and (15-43):

- (15-42) a. *Gère i-betih=è [(bahwa) ko gèh k=ini].*
 not UO-know=3.N.SUBJ that 2 come to=this
 'He didn't know that you came here.'
- b. **Wè gère mu-betih [ko gèh k=ini].*
 3 not AO-know 2 come to=this
 ('He didn't know that you came here.')
- (15-43) a. *I-peré-n Mai ku aku [bahwa wè malè mangan].*
 UO-say-CAUS1 Mai to 1 that 3 will AO:eat
 'Mai said to me that she wanted to eat.'
- b. **Mai meré-n ku aku [wè malè mangan].*
 M AO:say-CAUS1 to 1 3 will AO:eat
 ('Mai said to me that she wanted to eat.')

In clauses that have an actor subject, the matrix predicate takes a third person pronominal enclitic argument followed by a complement clause that makes explicit the reference of the enclitic. The complement in this case does not function as a direct argument of the matrix predicate, but rather as a paratactic complement (Noonan 1985). Consider examples (15-44) and (15-45):

- (15-44) *Wè mu-betih=è [i Jèwe delé jema].*
 3 AO-know=3.N.SUBJ LOC Java many people.
 'He knows that there are many people in Java.'

- (15-45) *Mai meré-n=è ku aku [wè malè mangan].*
 Mai AO:say-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ to 1 3 will AO:eat
 'Mai said to me that she wanted to eat.' (lit. 'Mai said it to me she wants to eat.')

15.2.2.2 Transitive predicates of perception and cognition

A number of transitive verbs expressing meanings of perception or cognition can take non-controlled complements. Examples of such predicates include *i-èngon* 'see', *i-èrah* 'see', *i-pengé* 'hear', (*i-*)*inget* 'remember', *i-rasa* 'feel' *i-betih* 'know' and *i-harap* 'hope'. Consider examples (15-46) to (15-49):

- (15-46) *Nge i-betih peteri=a=ne [ama=é sawah].*
 already UO-know princess=that=earlier father=3.POSS arrive
 'The princess knew (that) her father had arrived.' (SLG:188)
- (15-47) *Ku-harap [i-pengé-n=ko ling=ku].*
 UO.1-hope UO-hear-CAUS1=2.N.SUBJ voice=1.POSS
 'I hope you listen to what I say (lit. to my voice).' (IK:96)
- (15-48) *Ku-rasa [ini turah ku ama i-ulak-an].*
 UO.1-feel this must to father UO-return-CAUS1
 'I feel that this should be returned to father.'
- (15-49) *Gère inget=è nè [kunyur gèh ku bēden=é].*
 not UO-remember=3.N.SUBJ anymore spear come to body=3.POSS
 'He didn't remember any more that a spear had gone into (lit. come to) his body.'
 (IK:25)

These predicates can take complements introduced by the conjunction *ike* 'if' (§16.1.4):

- (15-50) *Gère i-betih=è [ike i-uet-en ko gulé=wé].*
 not UO-know=3.N.SUBJ if UO-take-CAUS1 2 fish=3.POSS
 'He won't know if you have taken his fish.'
- (15-51) *I-èngon-èngon=è [ike sentan turun ari kité ni umah=é].*
 UO-RED-see=3.N.SUBJ if thus descend from ladder POSS house=3.POSS
 'She looked (to see) if (it) came down the ladder of her house.' (Métun)

When the subject in a clausal complement of a transitive verb of perception is coreferential with the actor in the matrix predicate, this argument can be expressed as a reflexive pronoun (§6.4). Consider example (15-52):

- (15-52) *Gère i-betih=è [(bahwa) diri=é paling m-akal].*
 not UO-know=3.N.SUBJ that self=3.POSS most INTR-cleverness
 'He didn't know that he himself was the cleverest.' (IK:72)

15.2.2.2.1 Predicates of immediate perception

In contrast with examples (15-46) to (15-49), transitive perception verbs such as *i-èngon* 'see', *i-èrah* 'see' and *i-pengé* 'hear' can take a NP undergoer argument followed by a complement clause with an equi-deleted subject NP. Compare (15-53) with (15-54) below:

- (15-53) *Ku-èngon ama [tengah be-buet].*
 UO.1-see father CONT MID-work
 'I saw father working.'
- (15-54) *Ku-èngon [bahwa ama tengah be-buet].*
 UO.1-see that father CONT MID-work
 'I saw that father was working.'

In (15-53), the assertion is that the speaker saw the actual act of working. In (15-54), the speaker did not necessarily see the act taking place, but is aware that father was working, for example, by the fact that the tools had been taken from the house. Examples (15-55) and (15-56) are further examples of complementation involving immediate perception:

- (15-55) *I-èngon=è jema [tengah mune-kik].*
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ person CONT AO-fishing.pole
 'He saw someone fishing.' (SLG:47)
- (15-56) *Kite-pengé imo [mu-talu].*
 UO.1.INCL-hear ape INTR-call
 'We heard an ape calling out.' (IK:49)

15.2.2.2 Derived nominal perception predicates

Verbs of perception or cognition can function as the base of a derived noun marked by the undergoer nominal circumfix *pen-...-(n)en*. The morphologically complex noun can function as the head of a NP (§4.3.3). These occur in equative constructions, with the NP as the argument and the complement clause as the predicate. Examples (15-57) and (15-58) contain nominalised complement-taking predicates derived from transitive verbs:

- (15-57) *Pe-rasa-n=ku, Inen Ipak, [nge ku-tos kin diré=ngku].*
 U.NOM-feel=1.POSS Inen Ipak already UO.1-make for self=1.POSS
 'My feeling, Inen Ipak, was that I had made (it) for myself.'
- (15-58) *Pen-èngon=ku [jamu si gèh=ni lagu jema banan]!*
 U.NOM-see=1.POSS guest REL come=this way person woman
 'I saw that the guest who came here is like a woman!' (SLG:31)

15.2.2.3 Predicates of trying

Verbs expressing meanings of trying always take controlled complements, i.e. the actor argument of the matrix predicate (whether in subject or non-subject function) is coreferential with the actor argument of the predicate in the complement clause. However, these predicates have a number of grammatical properties distinct from the other complement-taking predicates. The verbs of trying are *i-cube*¹ 'try' and *i-usaha* 'try, arrange'. In examples (15-59) and (15-60), the equi-deleted subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the non-subject actor of the matrix predicate:

¹ Dèret dialect: *i-cuge*.

- (15-59) *Ku-cube mien bang mu-dedik akang=sa.*
 UO.1-try again UNC AO-chase deer=that
 'I might try chasing that deer again.' (IK:26)
- (15-60) *I-usaha-n=è netah-i motor=é kin diri=é.*
 UO-try-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ AO:fix-LOC car=3.POSS for self=3.POSS
 'He tried to fix his car by himself.'

The actor argument of the matrix predicate can also be a subject, as in examples (15-61) and (15-62):

- (15-61) *Aku pè malè munyube [be-dagang].*
 I also/even will AO:try MID-trade
 'I will try trading.' (IK:135)
- (15-62) *Sahan kin nyube [mu-beli kôrô=mu]?*
 who EMPH AO:try AO-buy buffalo=2.POSS
 'Who tried to buy your buffalo?'

Verbs of trying are distinguished from other syntactically transitive complement-taking predicates by the fact that the complement can have a non-subject argument that is coreferential with the actor argument of the matrix predicate. As non-subject arguments cannot be equi-deleted, the coreferential arguments are overtly expressed in both the matrix and complement:

- (15-63) *Gelah mi bang ku-cube [ku-mai ku kapal so].*
 let SOF UNC UO.1-try UO.1-take:LOC to ship yon
 'All right then, I will try to take (her) to that ship.'

15.2.2.4 Predicates of manipulation

Predicates of manipulation are distinguished from other complement-taking predicates by the fact that they take a NP complement bearing the role of undergoer, followed by a complement clause whose subject is coreferential with the undergoer argument of the matrix predicate. Verbs in these constructions include *i-kén* 'order', *i-koa-i* 'prohibit' (*mungoa* 'forbid'), *(i-)ijin-(n)en* 'permit' (*ijin* 'permission (N)'), *i-osah* 'give, permit' and *i-date-(n)en* 'let happen, witness' (*mu-daté* 'look at, witness'). Evidence that the subject of the complement clause is also the subject of the matrix is seen by the fact that the shared argument can be clefted in the matrix clause, as in example (15-64):

- (15-64) *Delé pedih jema si ngôk ku-kén-i [mu-rai kayu=a].*
 many very person REL can UO.1-order-LOC AO-fetch wood=that
 'There are a great many people who I can order to fetch that wood.' (SLG:89)

Examples (15-65) to (15-69) show complement-taking manipulative predicates:

- (15-65) *I-kén-i Jepang=ni kite [munos keranyang kôl].*
 UO-order-LOC Japanese=this we.INCL AO:make basket big
 'The Japanese ordered us to make large baskets.'
- (15-66) *I-koa-i=é anak=é [mén le-layang i]*
 UO-forbid-LOC=3.N.SUBJ offspring=3.POSS play kite LOC

geniring ni lôt].

edge POSS lake

'He forbade his child from flying his kite at the edge of the lake.'

- (15-67) *Kedang nge izin-ni Tuhen aku [dong i sien].*

maybe already UO:permit-CAUS1 God 1 stay LOC here

'Maybe God has permitted me to live here.' (SLG:85)

- (15-68) *Gère ku-osah ko [beluh].*

not you-allow 2 go

'I won't allow you to go.' (Ijô)

- (15-69) *I-datè-n=è [anak=é mu-tuh ari*

UO-watch-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ offspring=3.POSS INTR-fall from

atan kersi].

top:POSS chair

'I let (lit. watched) the child fall from the chair.'

The shared subject of the combined clauses can precede the matrix predicate. In example (15-70), the subject argument shared by the two clauses is the first person plural inclusive pronoun *kite*:

- (15-70) *Kite i-kén-i Tuhen [be-semiang].*

we.INCL UO-order-LOC God MID-pray

'We have been ordered by God to pray.'

Although rare in the corpus, the complement of a predicate of manipulation can contain an undergoer-oriented predicate. Accordingly, the argument shared by the two clauses is attached to the predicate in the complement clause, as demonstrated in example (15-71):

- (15-71) *I-kén-i=é [ku-pèrah kutu=é].*

UO-order-LOC=3.N.SUBJ UO.I-seek louse=3.POSS

'She ordered that I search for her lice (i.e. in her hair).' (SLG:211)

Predicates of manipulation also behave differently from other types of complement-taking predicates in that the argument shared by the two combined clauses can be expressed as a non-subject in the matrix clause. In (15-72), the matrix clause contains a clefted actor argument. The undergoer is expressed as a non-subject enclitic attached to the matrix predicate:

- (15-72) *Sahan ngén-i=ko [n-dere-n uén=a]?*

who AO:order-LOC=2.N.SUBJ AO-strike-CAUS1 boy=that

'Who ordered you to hit that boy?'

However, like other transitive complement-taking predicates (§15.2.2.1), predicates of manipulation can take a third person 'dummy' enclitic argument, followed by a paratactic complement clause (Noonan 1985), which is syntactically complete. Consider example (15-73):

- (15-73) *Sahan ngén-i=é [ko n-dere-n uén=a]?*

who AO:order-LOC=3.N.SUBJ 2 AO-strike=boy that

'Who ordered you to hit that boy?'

A number of predicates with non-manipulative meanings have similar syntactic patterning to the predicates of manipulation. For example, in (15-76), the verb *i-nanté-(n)en* 'wait' (*mu-nanti* 'wait, stand around') takes a syntactically complete complement clause; and in (15-77), the subject argument of *mencér* 'rise' is also the non-subject argument of the matrix predicate:

- (15-74) *Kite-nanté-n uren [mu-sidang].*
 UO.1.INCL-CAUS1 rain INTR-subside
 'We are waiting for the rain to subside.'
- (15-75) *Bèwèn=é mu-nanté-n ulen [mencér i langit].*
 all=3.POSS AO-wait-CAUS1 moon AO:rise LOC sky
 'Everyone was waiting for the moon to rise in the sky.' (IK:151)

Other examples include *i-èjer* 'teach', *i-tempuh* 'help' and *i-pong-en/i-pong-i* 'accompany' (*pong* 'friend (N)'):

- (15-76) *I-pong-n=è aku [beluh ku kedé].*
 UO-friend-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ 1 go to market
 'She accompanied me going to the market.'
- (15-77) *I-tempuh=è aku [nos pèger].*
 UO-help=3.N.SUBJ 1 AO:make fence
 'He helped me make a fence.'

These verbs can be actor-oriented when they function as matrix predicates in combined clauses:

- (15-78) *Wè munempuh=aku [nos pèger].*
 3 AO:help=UO.1 AO:make fence
 'He helped me make a fence.'

15.2.2.5 Transitive predicates of saying

A number of transitive and intransitive verbs can take complements specifying indirectly reported speech. Examples of transitive predicates of saying are *i-sèder* 'say', *i-peré-(n)en* 'say' (*be-peri* 'talk'), *i-sawah-an* 'say, deliver' (*sawah* 'arrive') *i-pe-betih* 'let know, warn' (*i-betih* 'know'). Consider examples (15-79) to (15-81):

- (15-79) *I-peré-n=è [wè gati m-inum kupi].*
 UO-say-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ 3 often INTR-drink coffee
 'He said that he often drinks coffee.'
- (15-80) *Nge ku-sawah-an ku paké=a [bahwa jem tige jadi=é].*
 already UO.1-arrive-CAUS1 to 3PL=that that hour three occur=3.POSS
 'I have told them that it will happen at three o'clock.'
- (15-81) *I-pe-betih=è ku aku [anak=é beluh ku Kutacané].*
 UO-CAUS-know=3.N.SUBJ to 1 offspring=3.POSS go to Kutacané
 He let me know that his child went to Kutecané.'

A matrix predicate expounded by the verb *i-kune-i* 'ask' (*mungune* 'ask') takes a complement that is an interrogative clause (§13.2):

- (15-82) *Kite-kune-i mulo ku kule=ni [kune kejadén=é].*
 UO.1.INCL-ask-LOC first to tiger=this how situation=3.POSS
 'We will ask the tiger how his situation is.' (SLG:79)
- (15-83) *Kite-kune-i ku pong=ku [ara ke wè mu-juel kupi].*
 UO.1.INCL-how-LOC to friend=1.POSS EXIST INT 3 AO-sell coffee
 'I asked my friend if he was selling coffee.'

Like the transitive predicates of perception (§15.2.2.2), some of these verbs can be nominalised with the undergoer-oriented nominal circumfix *pen-...-(n)en* (§4.2.3.5). The resulting derivation occurs within an equative clause, with the NP as the topic and the complement clause as the comment. Examples of such derivations include *penyèder-en* 'something said' (*i-sèder* 'say'), *penyerak-an* 'something said' (*be-cerak* 'talk') and *pengunen* 'something asked' (*mungune* 'ask'). This is demonstrated in (15-84):

- (15-84) *Penyèder-n=é ku aku [Aman Mayak=a mané maté].*
 U.NOM-say=3.POSS to 1 Aman Mayak=that yesterday die
 'What he said to me was that Aman Mayak died yesterday.'

15.3 Nouns that take complements

Two types of complementation can be distinguished with regard to noun heads. Firstly, those whose complement is tightly linked to the noun head, taking a clausal complement that occupies the descriptive slot of a complex NP (§10.4). In these clauses the noun and its complement are structurally inseparable. Examples of such nouns include *cara* 'way, method', *jèlen* 'way, means', *rencana* 'plan, intention', *rasa* 'feeling' and *kuasa* 'strength'. Consider examples (15-85) to (15-87), in which the complement-taking noun is underlined:

- (15-85) *I Gayô=ni, ara sara cara [be-cerak].*
 LOC Gayo=this EXIST one way MID-talk
 'In Gayo, there is a certain way of talking.'
- (15-86) *Ara rencana [malè semiang i kubur].*
 EXIST plan will pray LOC grave
 'They had (lit. there was) a plan to pray at the grave.'
- (15-87) *Wan até ni Jongok=ni timul rasa [sayang kin Monycong=ni].*
 inside:3.POSS liver POSS Jongok=this arise feeling feel.sympathy
 DAT Monycong=this
 'In Jongok's heart arose a feeling of sympathy for Moncong.' (IK:143)

With the second kind of noun complementation, the complements are less structurally linked to their head, as they can be separated from their head by another constituent. They are also distinguishable by the fact that the complement can be introduced by *bahwa* (§15.1). Examples of such verbs include *kèber* 'news,' *sèbep* 'reason,' and *èdet* 'custom'. Consider example (15-88):

- (15-88) *I-pengé=wé kèber [bahwa rēje nge gèh].*
 UO-hear=3.N.SUBJ news that king already come
 'He heard the news that the king had come.'

In examples (15-89) and (15-90), the complements are separated from their heads by other constituents:

- (15-89) *Nge beta ēdet ni urang Gayô, [bahwa sudëre lebih penting ari reta si delé].*
 already thus custom POSS person Gayo that family more
 important from wealth REL much
 'The customs of the Gayo are like that, that companions are more important than a lot of wealth.' (IK:116)
- (15-90) *I-osah kēber ku Serule, [bahwa Meriah nge maté].*
 UO-give news to Serule that Meriah already dead
 'Give the news to (the people of) Serule, that Meriah has died.'

16 *Conjunctions and parataxis*

In this chapter, four types of conjunctions are described: adverbial subordinating conjunctions (§16.1), co-dependent conjunctions (§16.2), coordinating conjunctions (§16.3) and discourse connectors (§16.4). The chapter concludes with a description of parataxis (§16.5).

16.1 Subordinating conjunctions

In the following I describe conjunctions that introduce adverbial subordinate clauses. Other kinds of subordinate clauses are discussed elsewhere in this grammar, i.e. relative clauses (§14) and complement clauses (§15). Adverbial subordination involves the embedding of a subordinate clause as an adjunct within a higher matrix clause. The embedded clause is marked by a subordinating conjunction, which specifies the semantic relationship between the subordinate clause and the matrix predicate to convey meanings of time, reason, purpose, condition and concession (§16.1.1 to §16.1.5).

16.1.1 Time

There are a number of strategies for specifying temporal location in Gayo; they are: with an adverb (§4.4.1), a temporal local noun (§10.1.3.2), a nominalised-verb NP (§4.3.3), or a paratactic construction (§16.5). Adjuncts of time can also be represented by subordinate clauses marked by a subordinating conjunction. The subordinating conjunctions specify the temporal relationship between the event described in the subordinate clause in relation to the matrix predicate. They are listed in Table 16-1.

Table 16-1: Subordinating conjunctions of time

<i>waktu</i>	‘when’
<i>ketike</i>	‘when’
<i>sengkiren</i>	‘when’
<i>sire, se-sire</i>	‘while, at the same time’
<i>selama</i>	‘as long as’
<i>sebelem</i>	‘before’

Most subordinate clauses specifying time typically precede the matrix predicate, as shown in examples (16-1) to (16-3):

- (16-1) [*Sebelem turun ku lah ni ume,*] *ara resam*
 before descend to middle POSS rice.paddy EXIST formality
turah i-buet-en.
 must UO-work-CAUS1
 'Before going to the middle of the rice paddy, there is a formality that must be done.' (IK:110)
- (16-2) [*Ketike aku r[em]alan,*] *salah lenget kulit n=awal.*
 when I INTR-walk wrong step skin POSS=banana
 'When I was walking, I accidentally stepped (on) a banana peel.'
- (16-3) [*Waktu sawah k=umah,*] *i-jerang-an si sang=kak=ne.*
 when arrive to=house UO-cook-CAUS1 REL one=half.coconut=earlier
 'When (they) arrived home, the half-coconut(ful) (i.e. of rice) was cooked.'

Subordinate clauses that specify time can also follow the matrix predicate, as in (16-4):

- (16-4) *Mari mi kite kejepe [sebelem beluh.]*
 rest SOF we.INCL a.moment before go
 'Let's have a rest for a moment before (we) go.'

16.1.2 Reason

Subordinate clauses of reason are introduced by the conjunctions *kerna* (or *kena*) and *sēbep*. These conjunctions convey the meanings 'because, since, on account of', and mark subordinate clauses that can precede or follow the matrix predicate. Consider examples (16-5) to (16-7):

- (16-5) *Wè pening-en [kena delé tu m-inum kupi].*
 3 dizzy-ADVERS because much too INTR-drink coffee
 'He is very dizzy because he drank too much coffee.'
- (16-6) [*Kerna porak,*] *nge mu-ce-cio wan awah=é.*
 because hot already INTR-RED-burn inside:POSS mouth=3.POSS
 'Because (it) was hot, (it) burnt his mouth.' (IK:208)
- (16-7) *I sonè le renyel nomé wè [sēbep nge*
 LOC there FOC then AO:lie.down 3 because already
pe-pien lô pe-pien ingi wè gère nomé].
 RED-how.many day RED-how.many night 3 not AO:lie.down
 'At that place he slept, because for some days and some nights he hadn't slept and he hadn't eaten.' (SLG:85)
- (16-8) *Mungut n=ulung kayu nume [kerna kuyu].*
 AO:sway POSS=leaf tree not because wind
 'The swaying of the leaves is not because of the wind.'

The construction *entap ke(r)na* 'because' is used to mark NPs denoting a cause or reason for the state of affairs in the clause that follows it. Such adjuncts always precede their matrix predicate:

- (16-9) [Entap kerna Punce] mu-tuh gelas=ku.
 because Punce INTR-fall glass=1.POSS
 'Because of Punce, my glass fell.' (i.e. Punce startled me.)
- (16-10) Enti [entap kena oya] renye mu-gènyol.
 don't because that then AO-sulk
 'Don't go sulking just because of that.' (Melalatoa 1982:84)

16.1.3 Purpose

Adjuncts of purpose are expressed as subordinate clauses marked by the conjunction *kati*. Consider examples (16-11) and (16-12):

- (16-11) Minah k=ini [kati dekat kite].
 AO:move to=this so.that close we.INCL
 'Move here so that we are close (to each other).'
- (16-12) Kite belèjer [kati pané].
 we.INCL study so.that clever
 'We study in order to be clever.'

The conjunction *kati* marks clauses modified by the prohibitive negator verb *enti* (§13.4.3), to convey a meaning of 'prevent (something happening)'. Consider example (16-13):

- (16-13) Te nge i-tutup mata=é pè [kati enti
 CLAR already UO-shut eye=3.POSS also/even so.that don't
 i-èngon=è jema].
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ person
 'His eyes were shut in order to stop him from seeing anyone.' (SLG:208)

Where the matrix predicate denotes an unintentional action, a subordinate clause introduced by *kati* specifies the outcome of that action:

- (16-14) Sana si nge terjadi ku atan denie=ni, [kati nge
 what REL already happen to top:POSS world=this so.that already
 lagu n=ini?]
 way POSS=this
 'What has happened to this world for it to be like this?'

This meaning is also signalled when a clause is marked by *kati*, and is followed by a postposed sentence. The two sentences are in a paratactic relationship. Consider examples (16-15) and (16-16):

- (16-15) [Kati beluh nginté.] ara per-inget-en ari èdet.
 so.that go AO:propose EXIST NOM-remember from custom
 '(He) went to propose, as there was a reminder from our custom.'
 (i.e. The custom says one should do that.)

- (16-16) [*Kati pe-loah wè,*] *salah dolot tulen.*
 so.that T.EXT-vomit 3 wrong swallow bone
 'He vomited from accidentally swallowing a bone.'
 (lit. 'He vomited from wrongly swallowing a bone.')

A similar meaning is specified when the second sentence is followed by a sentence specifying reason (and is marked by *kerna* or *sěbep* 'because'). The meaning specified is that of a result (initial clause), followed by reason (final clause). Consider examples (16-17) and (16-18):

- (16-17) [*Kati ku-talu wè,*] [*kerna ara utang=é ku aku.*]
 so.that UO.1-call 3 because EXIST debt=3.POSS to 1
 'I called him because he owes a debt to me.'
- (16-18) [*Kati mu-serdol ungé=ngku,*] [*kerna aku segé.*]
 so.that INTR-dribble snot=1.POSS because 1 feverish
 'My nose is running because I have a fever.'

16.1.4 Condition

Condition is expressed as a subordinate clause marked by the conjunctions *ike* 'if, when', *apabile* 'if', or *asal* 'as long as'. Consider examples (16-19) to (16-20):

- (16-19) *Jěmen, [ike gěh lagu ko,] bengis wè.*
 long.ago if come way 2 angry 3
 'Long ago, if (someone) like you came, they were angry.'
- (16-20) [*Apabile kahè beluh pè kite ku Banda Acéh,*] *ulak*
 if later go also/even we.INCL to Banda Aceh return
urum-urum.
 RED-with
 'If we go to Banda Aceh we will come back together.'

16.1.5 Concession

Subordinate clauses of concession are marked with the conjunctions *pedahan* or *bier* (*pě*), which both mean 'even though'. Consider examples (16-21) and (16-22):

- (16-21) *Nge mēh belangi jema=é [pedahan jema=é*
 already finished beautiful person=3.POSS even.though person=3.POSS
nge berumur lagu aku].
 already aged way 1
 'All the people were good-looking, even though the people were all as old as I am (elderly).' (Depik)
- (16-22) *Gěre mu-gerak pè batang si kôl sine [bier*
 not INTR-move also/even tree REL big earlier even.though
gěh kuyu keras].
 come wind strong
 'Those large trees don't move even when a strong wind comes.' (IK:129)

16.2 Co-dependent conjunctions

Co-dependent constructions contain two non-modifying clauses joining together in a dependence relationship. Each of the combined clauses is introduced by a subordinating conjunction, and neither clause can be considered a matrix. Some conjunctions are used exclusively in co-dependent structures. In §16.1.3, we saw that the subordinating conjunction *kati* ‘so that’ can also occur in a co-dependent construction. The conjunction pairs *makén ... makén ...*¹ and *tamah ... tamah ...*,² which both mean ‘the more ... the more ...’, always occur in co-dependent constructions. Consider examples (16-23) and (16-24):

- (16-23) *Jèlen=ni, [makén gati kite-gune-i,] [makén jeroh].*
road=this the.more often UO.1.INCL-use-LOC the.more good
‘This road, the more often we use (it), the better (it) gets.’
- (16-24) *[Tamah delé kite mangan,] [tamah sakét].*
add much we.INCL AO:eat add sick
‘The more we eat, the sicker (we) get.’

The conjunctions *tamah* and *makén* can occur in combination:

- (16-25) *[Tamah lô], [makén nyanya m-urip=é]?*
the.more day the.more be.in.difficulty INTR-live=3.POSS
‘The more the days (go by), the more difficult his life gets?’ (Makam 1982:101)

16.3 Coordinating conjunctions

Coordination describes a relationship where two structures of equal syntactic prominence and equal syntactic function are joined by a conjunction. Coordination in Gayo can occur at the level of the phrase, the clause or the sentence. There are four coordinating conjunctions in Gayo: *urum* ‘and’, *den* ‘and’, *atawa* ‘or’ and *tapè* ‘but’. These are listed in Table 16-2 and discussed in the sections that follow.

Table 16-2: Coordinating conjunctions

Coordinating conjunction	Units conjoined
<i>urum</i> ‘and’	phrases
<i>den</i> ‘and’	complex sentences
<i>atawa</i> ‘or’	phrases, clauses
<i>tapè</i> ‘but’	clauses, larger discourse units
<i>keta, baru</i> ‘then’	clauses, larger discourse units

16.3.1 *urum* ‘and’

Urum conjoins units at the phrasal level only. The same form also functions as a preposition, which was described in §11.2.1. In examples (16-26) to (16-28) *urum* conjoins an NP and a PP respectively:

¹ M/BI: *makén* ‘increase’.

² M/BI: *tambah* ‘add’.

- (16-26) *Ara sara kejadian antara musang urum kurik.*
 EXIST one incident between civet.cat and chicken
 'There was an incident between the civet cat and the chicken.' (SLG:130)
- (16-27) *Beluh ku ume urum ku empus.*
 go to rice.paddy and to garden
 '(He) went to the rice paddy and to the garden.' (IK:24)

Urum can also conjoin VPs whose predicates share a subject. Consider example (16-28):

- (16-28) *Aku m-inum tèh urum m-angas.*
 I INTR-drink tea and INTR-chew.betel
 'I am drinking tea and chewing betel.'

Where more than two items are coordinated, only the last two NPs are conjoined by *urum* 'and'. Consider example (16-29):

- (16-29) *I Kerung Simpur wè m-urum tetulun=é; Meriah,*
 LOC Kerung Simpur 3 INTR-gather RED-three:NAS=3.POSS Meriah
Gajah Putih, urum Cik Serule.
 elephant white and Lord Serule
 'At Kerung Simpur, the three of them gathered; Meriah, the white elephant, and Lord Serule.' (Linge)

16.3.2 den 'and'

The conjunction *den* 'and' (M/BI *dan* 'and') can be used to coordinate units greater than the level of the phrase, typically complex sentences. This is demonstrated in examples (16-30) and (16-31):

- (16-30) *Kebetulen, wan kapal=ne ara sara kekanak rawan mi.*
 in.fact inside:POSS boat=earlier EXIST one child boy more
Den kebetulen, i wan kapal=ne tetulun=é
 and in.fact LOC inside:POSS boat=earlier RED-three-NAS=3.POSS
i-bobon sara kamar.
 UO-put:POSS one room
 'In fact, on the ship was one more boy; and in fact, in the ship the three people were put (into) one room.'
- (16-31) *Ike gère ko makat-i=aku, aku gère uet, den ike*
 if not 2 AO:gather-LOC=I.N.SUBJ 1 not wake.up and if
gère ko munalu=aku, aku gère gèh k=ini.
 not 2 AO:call=I.N.SUBJ 1 not come to=this
 'If you hadn't come to get me, I wouldn't have woken up; and if you hadn't called me, I wouldn't have come here.'

16.3.3 atawa 'or'

The disjunct *atawa* 'or' can coordinate phrasal units. In examples (16-32) to (16-34) *atawa* coordinates NPs, PPs and VPs respectively:

- (16-32) *Anak beru atawa bujang si malè i-kerje-n=a.*
 offspring girl or boy REL will UO-marry-CAUSI=that
 'A girl or a boy will be married off.' (IK:84)
- (16-33) *Mêja oya ngôk i-paré-nen i dëret atawa i was.*
 table that can UO-situation-CAUSI LOC land or LOC inside
 'That table can be put outside or inside.'
- (16-34) *Kedang paké=a tengah mun-uling atawa tengah mu-niri*
 perhaps 3.PL=that CONT AO-harvest or CONT AO-bathe
sabi diri=é.
 amongst self=3.POSS
 'Perhaps they are harvesting or bathing with each other.' (IK:63)

Atawa can also be used to coordinate clauses, as in example (16-35):

- (16-35) *Aku gèh ku umah=mu atawa ko gèh k=umah=ku=sa.*
 1 come to house=2.POSS or 2 come to=house=1.POSS=there
 'I come to your house or you come to my house.' (Baihaqi 1977:67)

16.3.4 *tapè* 'but'

The conjunction *tapè* 'but' coordinates clauses, as demonstrated in examples (16-36) and (16-37):

- (16-36) *Mèh kôrô sara uer ku-geléh-i, tapè sara ke-kulit*
 finished buffalo one wallow UO.1-slaughter-LOC but one RED-skin
pè gëre i-beli.
 also/even not UO-buy
 'I have slaughtered a whole wallowful of buffaloes but not even one skin has been bought by someone.' (IK:132)
- (16-37) *Aku nge sèhat tapè gëre berani beluh-beluh gép ilen.*
 1 already sick but not brave RED-go far yet
 'I am healthy now, but not brave enough to go to far away yet.'

Tapè 'but' can also combine larger discourse units, as discussed in §16.4.2.

16.3.5 *keta, baru* 'then'

Keta and *baru*, which both mean 'then', are used to mark clauses and larger units of discourse, signalling that an event occurred subsequent to that mentioned in the preceding clause:

- (16-38) *Ke nge kasè ling=ku mu-talu [baru ko mu-sôt].*
 BCKGR already later voice=1.POSS INTR-call then 2 INTR-answer
 'I'll call out later, then you (can) answer.' (SLG:87)
- (16-39) *Si be-bujang mu-jém ku si be-beru, keta*
 REL RED-boy INTR-smile to REL RED-girl then

be-beru pè mumanang ari serap ni tudung=é.
 RED-girl also/even AO:look from side POSS veil=3.POSS
 'The boys smiled to the girls, then the girls looked from the sides of their veils.'

16.4 Discourse connectors

Discourse connectors introduce segments of discourse, serving to maintain cohesion between sentences and larger units of discourse. Gayo discourse connectors are often separated from the units they introduce by a pause. They are listed in Table 16-3, and are described individually in the sections following.

Table 16-3: Discourse connectors

<i>jadi</i>	'so'
<i>tapè</i>	'but'
<i>umpama=é</i>	'for example'
<i>ahèrè</i>	'finally, eventually'
<i>maksutté</i>	'the point is ...'

16.4.1 *jadi* 'so'

Jadi 'so' occurs frequently in narrative discourse. It indicates that the information it introduces follows on from what was discussed previously, signalling continuity in a narrative. Consider examples (16-40) and (16-41):

(16-40) *'Oya pasti jema ayu', gèh kenè. Jadi, be-gerak até=wé*
 that certain person new come say so MID-move liver=3.POSS
 "That's certainly a new person", (she) said. So, her heart moved (i.e. she took a fancy to him).' (Ijô)

(16-41) *Geral ni kekèberen=te=ni Peteri Pukes. Jadi,*
 name POSS folk.tale=our.INCL=this princess Pukes so
ke-kèber-en Peteri Pukes=ni kahè enti kite silep.
 RED-folk.tale-IMIT princess Pukes later don't we forget
 The name of this folk tale is Princess Pukes. So we shouldn't forget the story of Princess Pukes later.' (Pukes)

16.4.2 *tapè* 'but'

As discussed above, *tapè* 'but' can function as a coordinating conjunction (§16.3.4). As a discourse connector, *tapè* 'but' signals that the discourse that follows it is in contrast with what has been stated in the discourse preceding it. Consider example (16-42):

(16-42) *Kil Lokot=ne ulak ku Pining. Tapè wè gère i-dere*
 Kil Lokot=earlier return to Pining but 3 not UO-strike
Jepang=ne.
 Japanese=earlier
 'Kil Lokot returned to Pining, but he wasn't beaten by the Japanese.'

16.4.3 umpamaé 'for example'

Umpamaé 'for example' (lit. 'its example': *umpama* 'example' + *=é* '3.POSS') introduces discourse that further illustrates a point made previously. Consider example (16-43):

- (16-43) *Ara se-sara upacara si buet-en urang Gayô.*
 EXIST RED-one ritual REL (UO-)work-CAUS1 person Gayo
Umpama=é, ike malè turun ku ume sine i-ara-n
 example=3.POSS if will descend to rice.paddy earlier UO-EXIST-CAUS1
kenduri muni rô uren.
 gathering AO-request rain
 'There are some rituals which the Gayo perform. For example, if they are about to go down to the rice paddy, they hold a ritual meal requesting rain.' (IK:111)

16.4.4 ahèrè 'finally, eventually'

Ahèrè 'eventually, finally' introduces discourse that specifies the final result or outcome of whatever is discussed:

- (16-44) *Demu dengan=é=ne sara mi. Ahèrè, mèh demu*
 meet sibling=3.POSS=earlier one more eventually finished meet
dengan si onom=ne.
 sibling REL six=earlier
 '(He) met one more of his siblings. Eventually (he) had met all six of his siblings.' (SLG:31)

16.4.5 maksuté 'the point is ...'

Maksuté 'the point is ...' (lit. 'its point': *maksut* 'point', *=é* '3.POSS'), indicates that what follows is an explication of the main point of preceding discourse. Consider example (16-45):

- (16-45) *Kurik=ni berkelebihe³ ari kurik biasa. Maksut=é,*
 chicken=this have.more from chicken usual point=3.POSS
kurik=ni, tai=é mas.
 chicken=this shit=3.POSS gold
 'This chicken has more than usual chickens. The point is, this chicken, its shit is gold.' (SLG:62)

16.5 Parataxis

Parataxis is the combining of syntactic units without the use of a conjunction. The two units are separated by a pause, which is signalled orthographically by a comma here. The paratactic relationship involves some implied connection between the states of affairs expressed by two predicates, often indicating relationships similar to those expressed by

³ *ber-kelebihe* (M/BI): *ber-* possessive prefix + *lebihe* 'more, extra'.

coordination or subordination. This section describes some of the relationships between paratactic clauses. These are: concurrent events (§16.5.1), sequences of events (§16.5.2), and elaboration (§16.5.3).

16.5.1 Concurrent events

Parataxis may signal a coordination-type relationship between two clauses, indicating co-occurring states of affairs. Although the conjunction *den* 'and' (§16.3.2) can be used to signify this relationship, more commonly the relationship is paratactic. Consider examples (16-46) and (16-47):

- (16-46) *Aku munos penan, wè m-inum kupi.*
 1 AO:make cake 3 INTR-drink coffee
 'I am making cakes and he is drinking coffee.'

- (16-47) *Ko semiang renyel, aku mu-rokok mulo.*
 2 pray then 1 AO-smoke first
 'You go ahead and pray, I'll have a smoke first.'

In example (16-48), the first clause in the sequence denotes an event and the second denotes a state:

- (16-48) *Enti kasè sawah ku dagang ni jema, ko gère pané*
 don't later arrive to trade POSS person 2 not clever
sanah pè.
 what also/even
 'Don't (let it be that you) go somewhere to work, (and) you are not able to do anything (i.e. are not skilled enough).'

16.5.2 Sequences of events

Sequences of events are typically represented by paratactic clauses arranged iconically in the sequence in which the events occurred in relation to one another. This is demonstrated in (16-49) to (16-51):

- (16-49) *Nge nik mata n=lô, be-jak⁴ kite.*
 already AO:ascend eye POSS=day MID-go we.INCL
 '(When) the sun has risen, we will go.'
- (16-50) *Nge siep bèwèn=é, nge gèh rėje=ne.*
 already ready all=3.POSS already come king=earlier
 '(When) everybody was ready, the king came.'
- (16-51) *Sawah ko ku serap so kasè, enti èngon k=onè.*
 arrive 2 to side yon later don't (UO-)look to=there
 '(When) you arrive at the other side later on, don't look at it.'

⁴ *jak* (Acehnese) 'go'.

16.5.3 Elaboration

A clause can make more explicit the information in the clause that precedes it. This may convey a reason or an outcome of what was referred to in the first clause. Consider examples (16-52) and (16-53):

- (16-52) *Oya bagén=mu, nge ku-osah.*
 that share=3.POSS already UO.1-give
 'This is your share, I have given it (to you).' (Pelanuk)
- (16-53) *Gëre ara oros, nge mèh i-tekar-i.*
 not EXIST rice already finished UO-discard-LOC
 'There isn't any rice, it's all been thrown out.'

In some cases a clause specifies the reason why a situation described by the preceding clause is the case:

- (16-54) *Aku gëre jadi beluh, teréh kona uren.*
 I not happen go afraid strike rain
 'I didn't end up going, (as I) was afraid of getting caught in the rain.'
- (16-55) *Gëre berani urang Gayô sara-roa jema beluh ku Biren,*
 not brave person Gayo one-two person go to Bireuen
delé bële i lah ni dené.
 many danger LOC centre POSS road
 'Gayo people are not brave enough to go in ones or twos to Bireuen, (as) there are many dangers on the way (there).' (IK:129)

Expressions of gratitude, i.e. *berijin* 'thanks', can be followed by a clause explaining the reason for the expression of gratitude. Consider examples (16-56) and (16-57):

- (16-56) *Berijin tengku, nge i-osah tengku seruel ni tengku kin aku.*
 thanks sir already UO-give sir trousers POSS sir DAT I
 'Thank you sir for giving your trousers to me.' (lit. 'Thank you sir, sir gave sir's trousers to me.') (SLG:47)
- (16-57) *Berijin, ko gèh k=umah=ku.*
 thanks 2 come to=house=1.POSS
 'Thank you for coming to my house.'

Appendix A: ‘Geluni item’ or ‘Depik’

In this story, recorded in Takengon in 1998, Aman Pinan narrates the legend as to the origins of *depik*, the small carp-like minnows that are unique to Lake Tawar.

- (A-1) *Ke-kèberni, geral=é geluni item, ke nge ...*
 RED-news-IMIT: this name=3.POSS k.o.plant black BCKGR already
 ‘This folk tale, its name is “*Geluni item*”, all right then ...’
- (A-2) *Jadi, pokok-masalah geluni item=ni, jema gère mera maté,*
 so basic-problem k.o.plant black=this person not want dead
jema tue. belangi dor, mampat dor.
 person old beautiful always nice always
 ‘So, this story is basically about people who wouldn’t die, old people. They stayed beautiful, they stayed nice.’
- (A-3) *Jadi, duduk masalah=é begini ... i so ke ara sara*
 so sit problem=3.POSS like.this LOC yon BCKGR EXIST one
bur, bur Kelieten.
 mountain mountain Kelieten
 ‘So, the problem is like this ... Over there is a mountain, mount Kelieten.’
- (A-4) *Bur Kelietni, sebenar=é,¹ ara kaitan=é ku*
 mountain Kelieten: this in.fact=3.POSS EXIST connection=3.POSS to
da’èrah Isak.
 region Isak
 ‘This Mount Kelieten, in fact, it has a connection (i.e. a connecting road) to the Isak region.’
- (A-5) *Jadi, bur Kelietni, memang i wan bur*
 so mountain Kelieten: this in.fact LOC inside: POSS mountain
Kelietni, macam hal sebagai terjadi onè.
 Kelieten: this kind thing as happen there
 ‘So, this Mount Kelieten, in fact, at Mount Kelieten something happened.’
- (A-6) *Pertama-tama, si selalu, jema ku geniring ni Bur*
 first-RED REL always person to edge POSS mountain

¹ M/BI: *sebenarnya* ‘in fact’.

Kelietni mungarô.

Kelieten: this AO: hunt

'Firstly, People are always (going) to the edge of Mount Kelieten to hunt.'

- (A-7) *Mungarô akang, giongen, ke beta, segêle. Oya*
 AO: hunt deer k.o. small. deer BCKGR like. that all that
i-karô=è k=onè ... rongkilen ke dèba ke beta,
 UO-hunt=3.N.SUBJ to=there wild. cat BCKGR some BCKGR like. that
segêle macam.
 all kind
 '(They) hunt deer, hunt *giongen*, it's like that, lots of things. That's what they hunt over there, all kinds (of things).'

- (A-8) *Jadi, sara ketike, ara mi we sara pawang.*
 so one time EXIST SOF EMPH one hunter
 'So, one day, there was a hunter.'

- (A-9) *I-pakat-i=é pong=é. 'Boh, kune kite=ni?'*
 UO-gather-LOC=3.N.SUBJ friend=3.POSS HORT how we.INCL=this
kenè, 'gère ke mungarô mi kite?'
 say not INT AO: hunt SOF we.INCL
 'He gathered his friends, "All right then, what should we do?" (he) said,
 "'Why don't we go hunting?'"

- (A-10) *'Pakat', gèh kenè pong=é, 'Ke nge beta'*
 (UO-)gather come say friend=3.POSS BCKGR already like. that
kenè pawang.
 say hunter
 "'(We) are gathered", said his friends. "That is so", said the hunter.'

- (A-11) *'Mungarô keta.' 'Beluh ke kite?' kenè.*
 AO: hunt then go INT we.INCL say
 "'(Let's) hunt, then." "Shall we go?" (he) said.'

- (A-12) *'Selo?' kenè pawang.*
 when say hunter
 "'When?" asked the hunter.'

- (A-13) *I-èngon=è lô. Jadi, i-èngon=è lô Senén, Selasa,*
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ day so UO-see=3.N.SUBJ day Monday Tuesday
Rabu, Kamis, Jemat, Septu.
 Wednesday Thursday Friday Saturday
 'He looked at the days. So, he looked at the days, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday.'

- (A-14) *I-èngon=è kin pe-langkah-an, se ke jema jëmen*
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ DAT NOM.UO-step CLAR BCKGR person long. ago

ke i-èngon ku pe-langkah-an, gère sembarang beluh.
 BCKGR UO-see to NOM.UO-step not any.way go
 'He looked at the plan, as people in the olden days looked at plans; they didn't go just anywhere.'

- (A-15) *Nge i-tos=è beluh ter Kamis.*
 already UO-make=3.N.SUBJ go PROX Thursday
 'They made it that (they would) go on Thursday.'

- (A-16) *'Ke nge nik mata n=lô, berangkat kite, be-jak*
 if already AO:ascend eye POSS=day leave we.INCL MID-go
kite, be-jëlen kite.'
 we.INCL MID-road we.INCL
 "When the sun rises, we will leave, we will go, we will go by road."

- (A-17) *'Boh mi, kumpul-en barang, kumpul-en asu,*
 HORT SOF (UO-)gather-CAUS1 thing (UO-)gather-CAUS1 dog
kumpul-en sana, segële macam.'
 (UO-)gather-CAUS1 what all kind
 "Alright then, gather the things, gather the dogs, gather whatever (else), all kinds (of things)."

- (A-18) *Siep-en alat, segële alat, si selpah-selpah*
 (UO-)ready-CAUS1 instrument all instrument REL RED-provision
geral=é. Si oros, si sana, si awas." Ke
 name=3.POSS REL uncooked.rice REL what REL spice BCKGR
beta ini.
 like.that this
 "Prepare the instruments, all the instruments, the provisions is what they are called. The rice, whatever (else), the spices." It was like that.'

- (A-19) *Arti=é alat, segële alat pè. Si kin*
 meaning=3.POSS instrument all instrument also/even REL as
parang, si kin tomak, si kin kunyur.
 machete REL as lance REL as spear
 'That meant the instruments, all the instruments. That which will be the machete, that which will be the lance, that which will be the spear.'

- (A-20) *Dengan mengucapkan bismillah, berangkat paké=a sine.*
 with utter 'Bismillah' leave 3.PL=that earlier
Berangkat ku lagu ling=ku sine.
 leave to way voice=1.POSS earlier
 'They uttered "Bismillah"² and left for where I mentioned earlier.'

- (A-21) *Masuk arul, keluer arul, nik bur turun bur,*
 enter valley exit valley AO:ascend mountain descend mountain

² *Bismillah* (Arabic): lit. 'In the name of God'. Expression used by Muslims when beginning a task.

Renyel jēlen ku son ku son ku son.
 then walk to there to there to there
 'Into valleys and out of valleys, up hill and down dale, then they walked
 on and on and on.'

- (A-22) *Kedang roa lô, tulu lô ke baru sawah.*
 perhaps two day three day BCKGR then arrive
 'Perhaps two or three days (later), then (they) arrived.'
- (A-23) *I-èngon paké=ne sara tempat. Anéh, genancing tempat=a sine.*
 UO-see 3.PL=earlier one place strange unusual place=that earlier
 'They saw a place. The place was strange and unusual.'
- (A-24) *Lôt, lôlôt kucak geral=é, lôlôt kucak.*
 lake lake small name=3.POSS lake small
 'A lake, a small lake is what it is called, a small lake.'
- (A-25) *Nge i-èngon=è, mu-jerang le paké=ne i onè.*
 already UO-see=3.N.SUBJ AO-cook FOC 3.PL=earlier LOC there
 '(When) they had seen (it), they cooked there.'
- (A-26) *I-èngon paké=a sine i onè genap makanan.*
 UO-see 3.PL=that earlier LOC there sufficient food
 'They saw that there was sufficient food there.'
- (A-27) *I-nikmat-i paké=ne bèwèn=é.*
 UO-taste-LOC 3.PL=earlier all=3.POSS
 'They tasted everything.'
- (A-28) *Ara be-lukup onè, uah ni lukup i-cecah.*
 EXIST MID-wild.mango there fruit POSS wild.mango UO-sauce
 'They looked for wild mangoes there, the mangoes are made into sauce.'
- (A-29) *Ara mancang i onè sine, ara pertik, segèle macam.*
 EXIST k.o.mango LOC there earlier EXIST papaya all kind
 'There were mangoes there, there were papayas, all kinds (of things).'
- (A-30) *Ike sah pè le munanom=è, gère kite-betih.*
 if who also/even FOC AO:plant=3.N.SUBJ not UO.1.INCL-know
 'If someone planted them, we don't know.'
- (A-31) *Nge senang-senang paké=ne i onè.*
 already RED-happy 3.PL=earlier LOC there
 'They were happy there.'
- (A-32) *Pède kelem=a=ne, i onè nomé, ilang rara,*
 LOC2 evening=that=earlier LOC there AO:lie.down red fire
n-jerang kerô.
 UO-cook rice
 'That evening, they slept there, the fire was lit, they cooked.'
- (A-33) *Nge lang n=oya, nik mata n=lô, nge*
 already tomorrow POSS=that AO:ascend eye POSS=day already

terang lô, nge terang ke-kire, muloi bagi buet.
 clear day already clear RED-thought begin divide work
 'The day after that, (when) the sun rose, the day was clear, thoughts were clear,
 the work was divided up.'

- (A-34) *Sa si mun-éwé, sahan si beluh mungarô.*
 who REL AO-wait who REL go AO:hunt
 'Who would stay behind, who would go hunting.'

- (A-35) *Jadi, wan pien paké, paké=a=ne, si onom-pitu*
 so inside:POSS how.many person 3.PL=that=earlier REL six-seven
jema=ne beluh mungarô.
 person=earlier go AO:hunt
 'So, out of the people, them, six or seven people went hunting.'

- (A-36) *I-kenal=è renyel akang. Sahan mu-dedik mai asu.*
 UO-seek=3.N.SUBJ then deer who AO-chase AO:bring:LOC dog
 'They then hunted deer. Whoever (went for the) chase brought a dog.'

- (A-37) *Sara paké taring-en mu-jëge, sara mi kati*
 one person (UO-)remain-CAUS1 AO-guard one more so.that
mu-jerang kerô, kati waktu ulak kasè, nge tasak kerô.
 AO-cook rice so.that when return later already cooked rice
 'One person was left behind to guard, one more to cook, so that when they
 returned later, the rice was cooked.'

- (A-38) *Jadi, n-jerang n-jerang n-jerang, te kerô=ne.*
 so AO-cook AO-cook AO-cook CLAR rice=earlier
 'So, he cooked and cooked and cooked, the rice that is.'

- (A-39) *Paké=ne nge beluh kenal kenal kenal. Ke beta oya.*
 3.PL=earlier already go search search search BCKGR like.that that
 'They went, searching searching searching. It was like that.'

- (A-40) *Rejeki pè le ara kona renyel.*
 sustenance also/even FOC EXIST strike then
 'They then caught something.'

- (A-41) *Jadi, nisè pè nanté-n, 'Selo die sawah!'*
 so 3.POSS also/even AO:wait-CAUS when RHET arrive
 'So, they (i.e. the others) waited, "When will (they) arrive!"'

- (A-42) *Jadi i-jerang=è kerô=ne. nge i-jerang=è,*
 so UO-cook=3.N.SUBJ rice=earlier already UO-cook=3.N.SUBJ
i-èngon=è item, item! kerô ke putih! Ke oros
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ black black rice BCKGR white BCKGR uncooked.rice
ke putih!
 BCKGR white
 'So, he cooked the rice. (When) he had cooked (it), he saw (that it was) black,
 black! (But) rice is white!'

- (A-43) *Hana kati item kerô=ni?*
 what so.that black rice=this
 'Why was this rice black?'
- (A-44) *Ini gëre te-pangan. Tekar-an ku wan uéh=a*
 this not DC.UO-eat (UO-)discard-CAUS1 to inside:POSS water=that
renyel, tucker lèn.
 then (UO-)change different
 'It wasn't edible. (It) was discarded into the river, and substituted (with) different (rice).'
- (A-45) *Pengarih=é=ni, geral=é 'Geluni Item'. Tumbuh-tumbuhen*
 INSTR:stir=3.POSS=this name=3.POSS k.o.plant black all.k.o.plants
ara batang geluni, wè item.
 EXIST tree k.o.plant 3 black
 'The spoon, it was called "Geluni item." (Of) all kinds of plants, there is the Geluni tree. It is black.'
- (A-46) *I-karih urum oya, kin senuk, kin senuk korèk.*
 UO-stir with that as large.spoon as large.spoon stir
 '(The rice) was stirred with that, as a large spoon, as a large stirring spoon.'
- (A-47) *I-jerang mien tucker oros. Yah! Item mien!*
 UO-cook again (UO-)change uncooked.rice EXCLAM black again
 '(It) was cooked again, the rice was changed. Oh! Black again!'
- (A-48) *Tekar-an mien. Oros mèh-mèh renyel.*
 (UO-)discard-CAUS1 again uncooked.rice RED-finish then
 '(It) was discarded again. The rice was getting used up then.'
- (A-49) *Jerang-jerang tekaran, jerang-jerang tekaran.*
 RED-cook (UO-)discard-CAUS1 RED-cook (UO-)discard-CAUS1
Ke beta oya.
 BCKGR like.that that
 Cooking and cooking (then) discarded, cooking and cooking (then) discarded.
 It was like that.'
- (A-50) *Jadi, ahèrè, nge le sawah paké=ne si mungarô=ne*
 so eventually already FOC arrive 3.PL=earlier REL AO:hunt=earlier
mah dengké.
 AO:carry meat
 'So, eventually those who had gone hunting arrived carrying meat.'
- (A-51) *Kire ke malè mangan sedep-sedep ini, gëre ke?*
 apparently BCKGR will AO:eat RED-delicious this not INT
 'Apparently (they) were going to eat these delicious (things), weren't they?'
- (A-52) *Ke turah urum kerô i-pangan kati sedep, gëre ke?*
 BCKGR must with rice UO-eat so.that delicious not BCKGR
 'It must be eaten with rice so that (it) is delicious, shouldn't it?'

- (A-53) *Nge item kerô=é=a, taring oya pè mien.*
 already black rice=3.POSS=that remain that also/even again
 'Their rice was black, that was what remained again.'
- (A-54) *Yah! Kune mi akal=ni? Ke turah oya mi i-pangan.*
 EXCL how SOF tactics=this BCKGR must that SOF UO-eat
 'Oh! How will we get around this? (It) has to be eaten.'
- (A-55) *Oya le senta i-pangan kerô item=ne, nge ke.*
 that FOC then UO-eat rice black=earlier already INT
 'Then the black rice was eaten, all right then.'
- (A-56) *Ternyata mèn mude jema=é, mèn belangi jema=é,*
 appear finished young person=3.POSS finished beautiful person=3.POSS
nge mèn mampat, pèdahan jema=é nge berumur
 already finished nice even.though person=3.POSS already be.aged
lagu aku, si mungarô=ne, gère ke?
 way 1 REL AO:hunt=earlier not INT
 'They people all appeared young, all beautiful, even though the people were of my age (the speaker is elderly), those who went hunting, weren't they?'
- (A-57) *I-èngon=è bahwa kerô si i-tekar=ne mèn*
 UO-see=3.N.SUBJ that rice REL UO-discard=earlier finished
mu-jadi depik.
 AO-become k.o.fish
 'They saw that the rice they had discarded had all become depik fish.'
- (A-58) *Nge be-gérod-en i onè, mèn.*
 already MID.PL-writhe LOC there finished
 '(They) were all swimming around there.'
- Yah! Sine gère mu-gulé oya, sè=ni nge mu-gulé.*
 EXCL earlier not INTR-fish that now=this already INTR-fish
 'Oh! Earlier that didn't have any fish, and now it has fish (i.e. the water).'
- (A-59) *Kerô=ne teridah renyel mu-jadi gulé! astagfirullah!*
 rice=earlier visible then AO-become fish EXCLAM
 'The rice had visibly turned into fish! Oh dear! (lit. I ask God's forgiveness! (Arabic)).'
- (A-60) *Oya kati ulu n=depik pét, kena geluni item=ne*
 that so.that head POSS=k.o.fish bitter because k.o.plant black=earlier
pét-pét.
 RED-bitter
 'That's why the head of depik fish is bitter, because the Geluni Item is very bitter.'
- (A-61) *Jadi, kerô=a sine, geluni=ne mai=é ulak*
 so rice=that earlier k.o.plant=that (UO-)carry:LOC=3.N.SUBJ return

ku penirun, ku da'èrah Isak.

to fireplace to region Isak

'So, the rice, (and) the Geluni, they carried (them, and) returned to the fireplace, in the Isak region.'

- (A-62) *Sawah ku penarun, geluni sine i-cerite-n ku jema,*
arrive to fireplace k.o.plant earlier UO-story-CAUS1 to person

'Ini, geluni kin pengarih ng=kerô ng=kami so.

this k.o.plant as INSTR:stir POSS=rice POSS=we.EXCL yon

Oya kati kami=ni mèh mude i-èngon jema.'

that so.that we.EXCL=this finished young UO-see person

'When they got to the fireplace, the Geluni was made into a story for the people,
"This, the Geluni was our stirring spoon for our rice over there. That is why we
are all young to look at."'

Appendix B: The story of the mousedeer, the elephant and the shellfish

This story, recorded in the village of Payah Rëje, Bukit, from Aman Hadijah in April 1998, is a well-known folktale that is familiar to both the Gayo and the Acehnese. It is a story about how the mousedeer, the most cunning of animals, outsmarts the elephant with the help of the shellfish.

- (B-1) *Ini sara cerite, ni pelanuk urum gajah urum ketor.*
 this one story POSS mousedeer and elephant and shellfish
 'This is a story, of a mousedeer and an elephant and a shellfish.'
- (B-2) *Jadi, gèh kenè pelanuk, n-unger-ni ketor, 'O Ketor,*
 so come say mousedeer AO-tell-CAUSI shellfish VOC shellfish
boh kite ber-adu!
 HORT we.INCL MID-compete
 The mousedeer said to the shellfish, "Oh Shellfish, let's have a competition!"
- (B-3) *'Ngôk', kenè ketor, 'Ngôk Abang Pelanuk'.*
 can say shellfish can older.brother mousedeer
 "'(We) can", said the shellfish, "(We) can, Brother Mousedeer".
- (B-4) *Gèh kenè Abang Pelanuk, 'Boh keta'.*
 come say older.brother mousedeer HORT then
 'Brother Mousedeer said, "All right then".
- (B-5) *Mu-pakat ketor, gèh kenè ketor=ni, 'Keta ke*
 INTR-confer shellfish come say shellfish=this then BCKGR
nge beta, ku-talu mulo pong=ku keta'.
 already thus UO.1-call first friend=1.POSS then
 'The shellfish negotiated, he said, "Then I will call my friends over first."
- (B-6) *Jadi, gèh kenè ketor=ni, 'Kite=ni be-lomba, ber-adu,*
 so come say shellfish=this we.INCL=this MID-race MID-compete

urum Abang Pelanuk'.

with older.brother mousedeer

'So, the shellfish said, "We are going to have a race, a competition, with Brother Mousedeer".'

(B-7) '*Ruh!*' *kenè ketor=ni urum pong=é.*

can say shellfish=this with friend=3.POSS

"(We) can!" said the shellfish with their friends.'

(B-8) '*Mu-pakat mi kite, lang pè ngók, sè=ni*

INTR-confer SOF we.INCL tomorrow also/even can now=this

pè ngók.'

also/even can

"Let's discuss it, tomorrow we can, even now we can."

(B-9) *Jadi, ke nge beta, ber-unger mi ko ku abang*

so BCKGR already thus MID-tell SOF 2 to older.brother

Pelanuk.

mousedeer

'So then, you go and tell Brother Mousedeer.'

(B-10) *Ber-unger renyel ku Abang Pelanuk.*

MID-tell then to older.brother mousedeer

'He then told Brother Mousedeer.'

(B-11) '*O Abang Pelanuk', kenè ketor, 'Keta nge le*

VOC older.brother mousedeer say mousedeer then already FOC

kite mu-jadi ber-adu, nge beta, keta boh mi'.

we.INCL AO-become MID-compete already thus then HORT SOF

"O Brother Mousedeer", said the shellfish, "We will then have a race, come on then".'

(B-12) *Ulak ke-kèber-en ku Abang Gajah.*

return RED-news-IMIT to older.brother elephant

'The story now returns to Brother Elephant.'

(B-13) *Abang Gajah=ni, gèh kenè abang Gajah, 'Ari*

older.brother elephant=this come say older.brother elephant from

si ko Abang Pelanuk?'

where 2 older.brother mousedeer

'Brother Elephant, he said, "Where have you been, Brother Mousedeer?"'

(B-14) '*Aku=ni, sè=ni ara buet=ku urum Abang Ketor.'*

1=this now=this EXIST work=1.POSS with older.brother shellfish

"I have some business with Brother Shellfish".'

(B-15) '*Sana?'*

what

"What?"'

- (B-16) 'Eleh kami be-janyi ber-adu, mu-sangka.'
EXCLAM we.EXCL MID-promise MID-compete INTR-run
"Well, we have made a promise to hold a competition, to run."
- (B-17) 'Te kune?'
CLAR how
"How?"
- (B-18) Gèh kenè abang Ketor, 'Ngòk, ngòk!'
come say older.brother shellfish can can
'Brother Shellfish said, "(I) can, (I) can!"
- (B-19) Te kune kasè? Masak urum abang Ketor
CLAR how later impossible with older.brother shellfish
ber-adu. Wè mu-gèmot pè gère, gère pantas.'
MID-compete 3 INTR-move also/even not not fast
"How will (that) be later on? It's impossible that (he could) race with Brother Shellfish. He doesn't even move, (he) isn't fast."
- (B-20) 'Ogoh bang ko abang Pelanuk!' kenè abang Gajah.
stupid UNC 2 older.brother mousedeer say older.brother elephant
"Maybe you are stupid Brother Mousedeer!" said Brother Elephant.'
- (B-21) 'Eleh salah kangku aku ke i-peré-n=ko pè
EXCLAM wrong identify 1 if UO-say-CAUS1=2.N.SUBJ also/even
Abang Gajah aku ogoh. Oya le. Kite-laksanakan
older.brother elephant 1 stupid that FOC UO.1. INCL-carry.out
mi renyel.' Laksanakan renyel.
SOF then carry.out then
"Oh dear, you don't know me if you, Brother Elephant, say that I am stupid. Indeed. Let's get on with our (own) business then." (They) carried on (with their business) then.'
- (B-22) 'Boh keta nge,' gèh kenè abang Pelanuk, 'Boh
HORT then already come say older.brother mousedeer HORT
nge siep, be-sedie mi'.
already ready MID-ready SOF
"All right then", said Brother Mousedeer, "(I'm) ready, (you) get ready".'
- (B-23) Kenè abang Pelanuk, 'I si nge Abang Ketor?'
say older.brother mousedeer LOC where already older.brother shellfish
Gèh ken aku kahè, 'Ini aku!'
come say 1 later this 1
'(When) Brother Mousedeer says, "Where is Brother Shellfish?" I will say "Here I am!" [As the shellfish couldn't be seen in the water.]
- (B-24) R[em]jalan, renyel mu-sangka.
INTR-walk then INTR-run
'(They) walked, then (they) ran.'

Nge mu-sangka=ne, Gèh kenè abang Pelanuk,
 already INTR-run=earlier come say older.brother mousedeer

'O *Abang Ketor, i si nge ko?*'

VOC older.brother shellfish LOC REL already RHET

'When (they were) running, Brother Mousedeer asked, "O Brother Shellfish, where are you?"'

(B-25) '*Uh! Ini aku!*'

hey this I

"Hey! here I am!"

(B-26) *Jadi, ahère, nge hék-en abang Pelanuk=ne,*
 so eventually already tired-ADVERS older.brother mousedeer=earlier

nge hék nurut gemot=é.

already tired AO:follow move=3.POSS

'So, eventually, Brother Mousedeer was worn out, tired (from) following his (i.e. the shellfish's) movements.'

(B-27) '*Abang Ketor=ni, gère lagu oya pantas=é. Ini, hana*
 older.brother shellfish=this not way that fast=3.POSS this what

kati pantas pedih? Waktu ku-talu, "Uh!" kenè, "Ini aku!"
 so.that fast very when UO.1-call hey say this I

Beta ke pantas keta Abang Ketor=ni.

thus BCKGR fast then older.brother shellfish=this

"Brother Shellfish isn't fast like this. Here, why is he so fast? When I call (him), 'Hey!' he replies, 'Here I am!'. He is quite fast that Brother Shellfish."

(B-28) *Jadi, ahère, ahère, teduh. Nge hék abang Pelanuk=ni.*

so eventually eventually stop already tired older.brother mousedeer

'So, eventually, eventually, (he) stopped. Brother Mousedeer was tired.'

(B-29) *Teduh, nge iô, nge rap nomé. Iô, nge*
 stop already evening already near AO:lie.down evening already

semiang megerip mèh.

prayer sunset finish

'(He) stopped, it was already evening, (he) was about to sleep. (It was) evening, the sunset prayer was over.'

(B-30) *Abang Gajah=ne galép mumangan.*

older.brother elephant=earlier busy AO:eat

'Brother Elephant was busy eating.'

(B-31) '*Te sana ningko abang Gajah?*' *kenè abang*

CLAR what 2.POSS older.brother elephant say older.brother

Pelanuk.

mousedeer

"What are you up to Brother elephant?" asked Brother Mousedeer.'

(B-32) *Sè=ni nge iô, ke nomé kite.*

now=this already evening BCKGR AO:lie.down we.INCL

Nomé mi kite.

AO:lie.down SOF we.INCL

'Now it's evening, let's have a lie down, let's lie down.'

- (B-33) Beta le. Ini nge kalah.

like.that FOC this already defeated

'That's how it was. Now (he) was defeated.'

- (B-34) Nge kalah=ne, mencari akal, mencari akal.

already defeated=earlier seek tactics seek tactics

'(Now that he was) defeated, he looked for (another) tactic, looked for (another) tactic.'

- (B-35) Ini abang Gajah, suke kire, 'Pong=ku nomé.

this older.brother elephant like think friend=1.POSS AO:lie.down

Kati nge mis kahè, ku-bobon wè kat éwéh kahè'.

so.that already asleep later UO.1-put:CAUS1 3 near edge later

'Now Brother Elephant liked to think, "My friend is lying down. When he is asleep later, I'll put him on the edge (of the lake)".'

- (B-36) "Ku son pora abang Gajah! Ku son pora
to there a.little older.brother elephant to there a.little

abang Gajah!" Beta ken aku kahè.'

older.brother elephant thus say 1 later

""(Go) there a little (further) Brother Elephant! (Go) there a little (further) Brother Elephant!' That's what I'll say later."

- (B-37) Jadi, nge beta=ne, 'Yah! nomé mi kite',

so already thus=earlier EXCLAM AO:lie.down SOF we.INCL

kenè Abang Pelanuk=ne kin abang Gajah.

say older.brother mousedeer=earlier DAT older.brother elephant

'So, (after) that, "Oh! Let's lie down", said Brother Mousedeer to Brother Elephant.'

- (B-38) 'Eleh olok dih i-sapih-i=é ku aku! Gère mera
EXCLAM extreme very UO-order-LOC=3.N.SUBJ to 1 not want

mis wè. Mu-lapé dih aku ilen, oya kati aku mumangan.'

sleep 3 INTR-hungry very 1 still that so.that 1 AO:eat

""Oh, he orders me around so much! He won't go to sleep. I'm still very hungry, that's why I am eating."

- (B-39) 'Pora mi kahè uet mumangan', gèh kenè abang
a.little more later get.up AO:eat come say older.brother

Pelanuk, 'Nomé mulo kite'. Nomé.

mousedeer AO:lie.down first we.INCL AO:lie.down

""A little later (you can) get up to eat", said Brother Mousedeer, "We'll lie down first." (They) lay down.'

- (B-40) *Ini karang, i tuyuh ni lôt.*
 this sloping.bank LOC bottom POSS lake
 'This is a sloping bank, at the bottom of the lake.' (Speaker demonstrates the angle of the slope with his hands.)
- (B-41) *Abang Ketor=ne ku wan uéh=a, beta,*
 older.brother shellfish=earlier to inside:POSS water=that thus
ber-érét.
 MID-scattered
 'Brother Shellfish had (gone) into the water, (the shellfish) were scattered about.'
- (B-42) *Jadi, gèh kenè Abang Pelanuk=ne, 'Yah! kune ko*
 so come say older.brother mousedeer=earlier EXCLAM how 2
Abang Gajah! Ko, kôl bēden=mu, ngôk-en ko kat
 older.brother elephant 2 big body=2.POSS can-COMPAR 2 near
éwéh, kat éwéh ini.
 edge near edge this
 'So, Brother Mousedeer said, "Oh! How about you Brother Elephant! Your body is big, you are more able to be near the edge (of the lake), near this edge."'
- (B-43) *Jadi, gèh kenè abang Pelanuk=ni=ne, 'Ngôk-en*
 so come say older.brother mousedeer=this=earlier can-COMPAR
ko kat éwéh, ko kôl bēden=mu, aku, kucak bēden=ku.
 2 near edge 2 big body=2.POSS 1 small body=1.POSS
Aku kat bur. Beta ke?'
 I near mountain thus INT
 'So, Brother Mousedeer said, "You are more able to be near the edge, your body is big. As for me, my body is small. I'll (go) near the mountain. All right?"
- (B-44) *'Beta, aku, kôl bēden=ku.'*
 thus I big body=1.POSS
 "'Yes, I have a big body.'"
- (B-45) *Minah Abang Gajah=ni ku ini, ku geniring ni*
 AO:move older.brother elephant=this to this to edge POSS
karang=ni. Ini, karang=ni, tuyuh, keding, beta.
 sloping.bank=this this sloping.bank=this bottom sheer.drop thus
 'Brother elephant moved to the edge of the bank. Here, the river bank, at the bottom, (it was) a sheer drop, like that.' (Aman Hadijah demonstrates the steep decline with hand gestures.)
- (B-46) *Jadi, nge beta=ne, 'Nomé renyel!'*
 so already thus=earlier AO:lie.down then
 "'So, after that (he said), "Go to bed!"'
- (B-47) *Nomé=ne, gèh kenè Abang Pelanuk, 'Oya,*
 AO:lie.down=earlier come say older.brother mousedeer that

ku son pora, Abang Gajah!
to there.DIR a.little older.brother elephant
'After he had lain down, Brother Mousedeer said, "That (place), (go) over there a little, Brother Elephant!"'

- (B-48) '*Yah! Te ku si?*'
EXCLAM CLAR to where
"Oh! Where to?"'

- (B-49) '*Ku son!*'
to there.DIR
"To there!"'

- (B-50) '*Yah! Karang le ini! Te kahè mu-guril aku!*'
EXCLAM sloping.bank FOC this CLAR later INTR-roll 1
mu-guril kahè aku!
INTR-roll later 1
"Oh! This is a sloping bank! I'll roll down later! Later on I'll roll down!"'

- (B-51) '*Gère mu-kunah! Ku son mi pora, ko kôl bēden=mu.*
not INTR-problem to there.DIR more a.little 2 big body=2.POSS
Aku kucak.
1 small
"No worries! Go over there a little further, you have a big body. I am small."'

- (B-52) *M-èsot pora abang Gajah=ni.*
INTR-move a.little older.brother elephant=this
'Brother Elephant moved a little.'

- (B-53) *Nge m-èsot pora=ne, 'Pora mi, abang Gajah!'*
already INTR-move a.little=earlier a.little more older.brother elephant
'(When he had) moved a little, "A little further, Brother Elephant!"'

- (B-54) '*Yah! Te kune kenè ningko, abang Pelamuk!*' '*Ku*
EXCLAM CLAR how say 2.POSS older.brother mousedeer to
son, ku son mi!' '*Ini le nge sia, i*
there.DIR to there.DIR more this FOC already there LOC
tingir=é
edge=3.POSS

"Oh! What are you saying, Brother Mousedeer!" "Go there, go there further!"
"I am already there, at the edge of it!"

- (B-55) '*Gère mu-kunah! Ko, kôl bēden=mu.*'
not INTR-problem 2 big body=2.POSS
"No worries! You have a big body."

- (B-56) *Kire-kire nge se=tengah bēden Abang Gajah=ne.*
approximately already one=half body older.brother elephant=earlier
'About half of Brother Elephant's body (was over the edge).'

- (B-57) '*Ku son!*' *kenè abang Pelamuk=ne,* '*Ku son*
to there.DIR say older.brother mousedeer=earlier to there.DIR

pora mi. Aku=ni nyanya ini. '

a.little more 1=this be.in.difficulty this

“To there!” said Brother Mousedeer, “To there a little further. I am in difficulty here.”

(B-58) *I-èsot-ni abang Gajah=ni nisè diri=é*

UO-move-CAUS1 older.brother elephant=this 3.POSS self=3.POSS

pora mi.

a.little more

‘Brother Elephant moved himself a little further.’

(B-59) *Mu-tuh! Mu-tuh ku wan lôt=ne, ku tuyuh.*

INTR-fall INTR-fall to inside:POSS lake=earlier to bottom

‘(He) fell! (He) fell into the lake, to the bottom.’

(B-60) *Gèh kenè abang Pelanuk=ni, ‘Oya bagén=mu, nge*

come say older.brother mousedeer=this that share=2.POSS already

ku-osah. ’

UO.1-give

‘Brother Mousedeer said (to the shellfish), “That is your share (of elephant), I have given (it to you)”.’

Appendix C: Measure nouns

This section contains different kinds of measure nouns grouped according to their semantic types. Measure nouns are discussed in §10.1.4.

(a) Standard measures of volume:

<i>kal</i>	'volume of a half coconut shell'	<i>sang=kal</i>	'one <i>kal</i> '
<i>aré</i>	4 <i>kal</i>	<i>sen=aré</i>	'one <i>aré</i> '
<i>gantang</i>	2 <i>aré</i>	<i>se=gantang</i>	'one <i>gantang</i> '
<i>tém</i>	10 <i>aré</i>	<i>sara tém</i>	'one <i>tém</i> '
<i>naléh</i>	16 <i>aré</i>	<i>se=naléh</i>	'one <i>naléh</i> '
<i>padang, gaténg</i>	50 <i>aré</i>	<i>sara padang,</i> <i>sara gaténg</i>	'one <i>padang</i> ' 'one <i>gaténg</i> '
<i>kunce</i>	500 <i>aré</i>	<i>se=kunce</i>	'one <i>kunce</i> '

(b) Non-standard measures of volume:

<i>jontok</i>	'amount of salt stuck to a damp fingertip'	<i>se=jontok</i>	'one <i>jontok</i> '
<i>tétés</i>	'drop of liquid'	<i>sara tétés</i>	'one <i>tétés</i> '
<i>jemput</i>	'pinchful with three fingers (salt etc.)'	<i>se=jemput</i>	'one <i>jemput</i> '
<i>suep</i>	'mouthful'	<i>sen=suep</i>	'one <i>suep</i> '
<i>rengom</i>	'open handful'	<i>se=rengom</i>	'one <i>rengom</i> '
<i>kemul</i>	'closed fistful'	<i>se=kemul</i>	'one <i>kemul</i> '
<i>kemèk</i>	'armful (firewood etc.)'	<i>se=kemèk</i>	'one <i>kemèk</i> '
<i>sugi</i>	'quid of tobacco'	<i>sara sugi</i>	'one <i>sugi</i> '
<i>èlès</i>	'slice'	<i>sen=èlès</i>	'one <i>èlès</i> '
<i>lèmpèng</i>	'piece of tobacco carefully torn from a larger block, carried around in a box for personal use'	<i>sara lèmpèng</i>	'one <i>lèmpèng</i> '

(c) Piles

<i>tamun</i>	'pile (of sand etc.)'	<i>sara tamun</i>	'one <i>tamun</i> '
<i>tumpuk</i>	'heap, stack (of fish etc.)'	<i>sara tumpuk</i>	'one <i>tumpuk</i> '

(d) Weights

Weights (Gayo: *céng*) are measured with the metric system. Metric units are modified in the singular by the numeral *sara* 'one':

<i>ton</i>	'ton'
<i>kilo</i>	'kilogram'
<i>on</i>	'ounce (=100 grams)'
<i>geram</i>	'gram'
<i>mèli</i>	'milligram'

The traditional Acehnese measurement *manyam* was once used for weighing gold. Many Gayo see this as a measurement used only by the Acehnese:

<i>manyam</i>	'about three grams (for gold)'	<i>sara manyam</i>	'one <i>manyam</i> '
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(e) Lengths

<i>batu</i>	'kilometre'	<i>sara batu</i>	'one kilometre'
<i>depa</i>	'fathom – height of a man'	<i>se=depa</i>	'one fathom'
<i>seta</i>	'ell – elbow to tip of the middle finger'	<i>seneta</i> (<i>sen=seta</i>)	'one ell'
<i>jengkal</i>	'span – from thumb to tip of middle finger'	<i>se=jengkal</i>	'one span'
<i>jari</i>	'width of a finger'	<i>sara jari</i>	'one <i>jari</i> '

The metric lengths *mètèr* 'meter' and *kilomètèr* 'kilometre' are commonly used nowadays.

(f) Areas

<i>parang</i>	'area about 75 square metres'	<i>sara parang</i>	'one <i>parang</i> '
<i>benyer</i>	'area a quarter the size of a <i>parang</i> '	<i>sara benyer</i>	'one <i>benyer</i> '
<i>tempéh</i>	'area of a rice paddy'	<i>sara tempéh</i>	'one <i>tempéh</i> '

Nowadays the metric measurement *hèktar* 'hectare' is also used.

(g) Parts and sections

<i>belah</i>	'side, half'	<i>semelah</i> ¹	'one half'
<i>ules</i>	'section of citrus, durian etc.'	<i>sara ules</i>	'one section'
<i>kerat</i>	'slice'	<i>sengkerat</i>	'one slice'
<i>lapis</i>	'layer'	<i>se=lapis</i>	'one layer'

¹ *semelah* = *sem*+*belah*

(h) Collections of objects

Single measures of these nouns all occur with *sara* 'one' except for those marked with an asterisk*. Each one of these is generally restricted to quantifying a particular entity:

<i>sisir</i> (ni awal)	'hand (of bananas)'
<i>tunun</i> (ni awal)	'bunch (of bananas)'
<i>sunut</i> (ni t[en]aruh)	'clutch (of eggs)'
<i>tangké</i> (ni bunge)	'bunch (of flowers)'
<i>rôn</i> (ni manuk, bebiri, iken)	'group (flock of birds, sheep; a school of fish)'
<i>turusen</i> (ni gule Isak)	'10 pieces/slices (of palm sugar)'
<i>susun</i> (ni belô)	'stack (of betel leaves)'
<i>jangkat*</i> (ni songkoten)	'a load (of firewood) (lit. 'rope for tying firewood') <i>se=jangkat</i> 'one <i>jangkat</i> '

(i) Extents of time

<i>ulen</i>	'month'	<i>sara ulen</i> (<i>se=bulen</i> ²)	'one month'
<i>ketike</i>	'time, instant'	<i>sara ketike</i>	'one time'
<i>soboh</i>	'morning'	<i>sara soboh</i>	'one morning'
<i>ingi</i> ³	'night'	<i>ser=ingi</i>	'one night'
<i>lô</i>	'day'	<i>ser=lô</i>	'one day'
<i>jemat</i>	'week' (lit. 'Friday')	<i>se=jemat</i>	'one week'
<i>tôn</i>	'year'	<i>se=tôn</i>	'one year'
<i>ebet</i>	'century'	<i>sara ebet</i>	'one century'

(j) Obsolete money terms

The following terms were used during the Dutch colonial period. This was the system used by the Acehnese. Nowadays the unit of currency is the Indonesian *rupiah* which is called by that name by the Gayo:

<i>sèn</i>	'one cent'	<i>sara sèn</i>	'one <i>sèn</i> '
<i>pésén</i>	= 1/2 <i>sèn</i>	<i>sara pésén</i>	'one <i>pésén</i> '
<i>bènggol</i>	= 2 1/2 <i>sèn</i>	<i>se=bènggol</i>	'one <i>bènggol</i> '
<i>ketép</i>	= 10 <i>sèn</i>	<i>sara ketép</i>	'one <i>ketép</i> '
<i>tali</i>	= 25 <i>sèn</i>	<i>sara tali</i>	'one <i>tali</i> '
<i>suku</i>	= 50 <i>sèn</i>	<i>sara suku</i>	'one <i>suku</i> '
<i>renggit</i> (Acéh)	'one (Acehnese) dollar (100 <i>sèn</i>)' (Acehnese)	<i>se=renggit</i>	'one <i>renggit</i> '

² *ulen* 'month' is often expressed as *bulen* (from Malay), the form *ulen* is always used with reference to 'moon'.

³ *kelem* 'night' (non-measure).

(k) Collections of people

<i>paké</i>	'people'
<i>aron</i>	'group'
<i>rombongen</i>	'group'
<i>belah</i>	'clan'
<i>dipisi</i>	'division (military)'
<i>batalyon</i>	'battalion (military)'

(l) Volumes

<i>mangkok</i>	'cup'
<i>mok</i>	'small can'
<i>guni</i>	'sack'
<i>botol</i>	'bottle'
<i>keben</i>	'rice barn'
<i>tapé</i>	'small pouch woven out of grass used when carrying cooked rice on a journey'

(k) Miscellaneous

<i>patah</i>	'piece'
<i>titik</i>	'bit'
<i>setèl</i>	'pair'
<i>macam</i>	'kind'

Appendix D: Names and kinship terms

Traditionally a Gayo child would be given a name about a week after birth in a ceremony called *pesejuk* (Bowen 1993). Children are given a traditional Gayo name, e.g. *Sejuk*, *Genali*, or *Sengéda*; or a Muslim name, e.g. Ahmad, Hadijah, or Fatimah. The child's full name consists of their personal name, followed by the name of their clan, and in some cases the name of the larger district that they belong to. The following are examples:

Yunus Melala Toa

Yusuf Lingga Toa

After marriage, personal names no longer used, and the person is addressed by their teknonym. These are referred to in Gayo as *per-ama-n* (*per*-'...-(n)*en* 'NOM' + *ama* 'father') or *per-ine-n* (*per*-'...-(n)*en* 'NOM' + *ine* 'mother'). This address term effectively replaces the name they were given at birth.

A married man is addressed as *Aman Mayak*¹ until the birth of his first child. A married woman is addressed as *Inen Mayak* until the birth of her first child. It is considered *kasar* (impolite) to address a married person by their personal name. After the birth of a first child, a new name is taken. Upon the birth of a boy, the parents are addressed as *Aman Uén* (*ama ni uén* ‘father of a boy’) or *Inen Uén* (*ine ni uén* ‘mother of a boy’). When a girl is born, they are addressed as *Aman Ipak* (*ama ni ipak* ‘father of a girl’) or *Inen Ipak* (*ine ni ipak* ‘mother of a girl’). This name can continue to be used as a polite address. When the first child is named, the child’s name can also be used in the parents’ teknonyms. For example, if the firstborn is a girl and is named *Hadijah*, then the father and mother will be known as *Aman Hadijah* and *Inen Hadijah* respectively. If the firstborn is a boy and is named *Salman*, then the father and mother will be known as *Aman Salman* and *Inen Salman* respectively. However, the addresses *Aman Uén/Ipak* or *Inen Uén/Ipak* may be used as a

¹ *Aman ... Inen ...* These address terms are derived from the combination of *ama* 'father', *ine* 'mother' followed by the possessive particle *ni*. However, these teknonyms are not analysed here as such for the following reasons. The nasal element following *ama* and *ine* are phonologically bound to the preceding element rather than the following. There is no pause between *amaline* and the *n* that follows, but there can be a pause in between *Aman/Inen* and the noun that follows. *Aman* and *Inen* can also occur as independent forms in a sentence. For example:

I-serah-n=è *t[en]iro-n* *ni* *Aman* *si* *malè kin empu*
 UO-surrender-CAUS1=3.N.SUBJ NOM-request POSS Aman REL will as owner
ni umah=é.
 POSS house=3.POSS
 ‘He surrendered the downpayment of the man (Aman) who would be the owner.’ (IK:25)

term of address for people long after their children have grown up. The name will not be changed after this, even when they become grandparents.

Until recently, there was a high rate of infant mortality in the highlands. Most of the elderly people I encountered had lost at least one child in infancy. If a firstborn child dies in its infancy, but had already been named, the parents will still be addressed by the teknonym based on the deceased child's name.

The orthographic convention used by the Gayo nowadays for *Aman* and *Inen* is *a.* and *i.* respectively. A formal letter will typically have a full name such as the following:

Muhammad Ali Gunung a. Pèla

= *Muhammad Ali* (personal name) + *Gunung* (clan) + *a. Pèla* (father of *Pèla*)

Salma Gunung i. Sejuk

= *Salma* (personal name) + *Gunung* (clan) + *i. Sejuk* (mother of *Sejuk*)

The following is a list of kinship terms used in traditional Gayo society. Most of the terms describe relationships and can be used as address terms. Where the kinship term is a compound, the first element of the compound is employed as the term of address, e.g. one addresses one's *ine lah* 'paternal aunt' (not oldest or youngest of father's siblings) as *ine*.

(a) Nuclear family

<i>ama</i>	'father'
<i>ine</i>	'mother'
<i>dengan</i>	term used between siblings of the opposite sex
<i>dengan pedih</i>	'siblings of the opposite sex from the same mother'
<i>peserinen</i>	'siblings of the same sex'
<i>aka</i>	'older sister'
<i>abang</i>	'older brother'
<i>engfli</i>	'younger sibling'
<i>(si) ulu bëre/sulu bëre</i>	'oldest child'
<i>(si) bensu</i>	'youngest child'
<i>paké umah, ton umah, isteri, banan</i>	'wife'
<i>rawan</i>	'man, husband'
<i>inen dué</i>	'second wife' (in a polygamous marriage)

(b) Extended family

<i>datu rawan</i>	'great grandfather'
<i>datu banan</i>	'great grandmother'
<i>awan</i>	'grandfather'
<i>anan</i>	'grandmother'
<i>anan alik</i>	'maternal grandmother'
<i>awan alik</i>	'maternal grandfather'
<i>anan pedih</i>	'paternal grandmother'
<i>awan pedih</i>	'paternal grandfather'

<i>pôn</i>	'maternal uncle'
<i>ibi</i>	'maternal aunt'
<i>ama</i>	term used to address one's paternal uncle (lit. 'father')
<i>ine</i>	term used to address one's paternal aunt (lit. 'mother')
<i>ibi kôl</i>	'oldest of a child's maternal aunts'
<i>ama kôl</i>	'oldest paternal uncle'
<i>ama écék/ucak</i>	'youngest paternal uncle'
<i>ue</i>	term used to address a maternal aunt who is older than one's mother
<i>ine lah</i>	'paternal aunt' (not oldest or youngest of father's siblings)
<i>ama lah</i>	'paternal uncle' (not oldest or youngest of father's siblings)
<i>ibi lah</i>	'maternal aunt' (not oldest or youngest of mother's siblings)
<i>ngah²</i>	term used to address an aunt or uncle who is not the oldest or youngest of one's parents' siblings.
<i>until</i>	'niece or nephew'
<i>kumpu</i>	'grandchild'

(c) Non-blood relatives

<i>kile</i>	'son-in-law'
<i>pemèn</i>	'daughter-in-law'
<i>kawé</i>	'sister-in-law'
<i>inen tue</i>	'mother-in-law'
<i>tuen</i>	'father-in-law'
<i>tuen èra</i>	term used by a woman to address her husband's younger brothers
<i>temude</i>	term used by a woman to address her husband's elder brothers
<i>kawé</i>	term used by a woman to address her husband's younger sisters or her husband's female cousins

² *ngah* < *tengah* 'middle (N)'.

Appendix E: Compound nouns

Compound nouns consist of two or three words, with the left-most word (head) specifying a generic meaning. Some common generics are listed below with examples of compounds they occur in. Compound nouns were discussed in §3.4.1.

(a) Cultural categorisations (ethnic, linguistic, religious etc.)

jema 'person': *jema banan* 'woman', *jema rawan* 'man', *jema sahid* 'martyr', *jema alim* 'religious scholar'. With these examples, the specific elements may occur on their own, i.e. without *jema*, denoting the same meaning as with the generic.

urang 'person, tribe': *urang Jëwe* 'a Javanese', *urang Gayô* 'a Gayo person', *urang Timur* 'a Tamiang Malay (of the east coast) (lit. 'East person')', *urang Islam* 'a Muslim'

paké 'person, kind of person'. This is used when referring to a person who is characterised by a particular habit, or by the place they frequent, e.g. *paké alus* 'a refined person', *paké umah* 'wife' (*umah* 'house'); *paké Linge* 'person from Linge', *paké besilô* 'the current generation' (*besilô* 'now')

belah 'clan': *belah Munté* 'the Munté clan', *belah Mude* 'the Mude clan', *belah Payung* 'the Payung clan', *belah Gading* 'the Gadéng clan'

agama 'religion': *agama Keristén* 'Christianity'; *agama Islam* 'Islam'; *agama Buda* 'Buddhism'; *agama Hindu* 'Hinduism'

basa 'language': *basa Acéh* 'Acehnese language'; *basa Melayu* 'Malay/Indonesian'; *basa balék* 'language used in a k.o. game';¹ *basa melèngkan* 'the language of the *melèngkan* ritual speech'

doa 'prayer, spell': *doa kebel* 'invulnerability spell'; *doa besi* 'invulnerability spell' (*besi* 'iron')

(b) Professions or skills

pawang 'one with a special skill or magical power': *pawang uren* 'an expert rain diviner'; *pawang mungarô* 'an expert hunter'

tukang 'expert, professional': *tukang gulé* 'fish seller', *tukang jét* 'a tailor' (*jét* 'sew'); *tukang pe-rokok* 'chain smoker'

¹ *basa balék*: language used in a kind of word game. Words are stripped of affixes and the order of the first and last syllable of each word is reversed. Hazeu (1907:69) gives an example: *regé tihbe yao*, that is: *gëre i-betih=ko oya* 'you don't know that'.

(c) Foodstuffs

jantar 'vegetable accompaniment to rice': *jantar [m-asam]-jéng* 'sour vegetables', *jantar pengat* 'vegetables without sauce'

kerô 'cooked rice': *kerô tom* 'rice wrapped in a banana leaf'; *kerô pulut* 'glutinous rice'

(d) Animals

When referring to specific undomesticated animals the modifying noun has reference to species. Domesticated animals are generally categorised according to identificational properties such as colour or distinguishing patterns on the skin or fur. This is because there is a need for individual domesticated animals to be identified for purposes of ownership, or breeding etc. Most undomesticated animals are not referred to with nominal compounds. For example, animals such as *imo* 'ape', *mawas* 'orangutan', *kintis* 'ant', and *lemis* 'mosquito' never occur within a compound.

- Undomesticated animals

With compound nouns that refer to undomesticated animals, the generic element refers to the name of a species:

manuk 'birds of flight': *manuk tiung* 'mynah'; *manuk kèkèk* 'crow'; *manuk nuri* 'parrot', *manuk cencimpala* 'k.o. small bird'

iken 'fish': *iken geras kap*, *iken keperas* (species of fish found in Lake Tawar)

- Domesticated animals:

With compound nouns that refer to domesticated animals, the specific element typically refers to some physical identifying property of the animal.

kurik 'chickens, flightless birds': *kurik genantan* 'white chicken', *kurik kelabu* 'grey chicken' (*kelabu* 'grey'); *kurik sedung* 'black chicken'; *kurik kalkun* 'turkey'

kôrô 'buffalo': *kôrô jalang* 'undomesticated buffalo'; *kôrô jëget* 'white buffalo' (*jëget* 'albino'; *kôrô gupik* 'buffalo with small or no horns'; *kôrô bintang* 'buffalo with a white spot on the head' (*bintang* 'star'))

(e) Plants

Parts of plants are generally referred to with possessives e.g. *uah ni kayu* 'fruit', *cabang ni kayu* 'tree branch' (§10.3). Generic elements are used when referring only to leaves *ulung kayu* 'leaf'. Trees in general are referred to as *batang kayu* 'trees, plants with a stalk'.² The generic element refers to the species of a plant. *Kayu* is used for plant types without stalks, e.g. *kayu Acéh* 'k.o. basil'.

batang 'tree (tree trunk)' is used in compounds referring to plants and trees: *Batang keramil* 'coconut palm'; *batang geluni* 'k.o. shrub'; *batang gelumpang* 'orchid'

timun 'melon (cucumber)': *timun diké* 'k.o. watermelon', *timun tikus* 'k.o. melon'

² Compare *batang ni kayu* 'the trunk of a tree', *batang ni keramil* 'the trunk of a coconut palm' etc.

Interestingly *awal* 'banana' is not used as a generic, instead the Malay/Bahasa Indonesia *pisang* 'banana' used as a generic element of within compounds: *pisang uak*, *pisang kelat*, *pisang korong*, *pisang ayam* i.e. different varieties of banana.

(f) Household items

ôpôh 'cloth, material': *ôpôh kerung* 'sarong'; *ôpôh jebel* 'blanket'; *ôpôh jerak* 'ceremonial blanket'; *ôpôh ulen-ulen* 'k.o. blanket'

alas 'mat': *alas penomén* 'sleeping mat'; *alas penjemuren* 'mat for drying foodstuffs on'; *alas bekerawang*, *alas belintem* 'kinds of decorated mat'

ué 'rattan cane': *ué penikot* 'rattan binding string'; *ué benang* 'k.o. rattan'

(g) Times and places

ulen 'month': *ulen Juli* 'July'; *ulen Pasa* 'the fasting month' (*pasa* 'fast')

lô 'day': *lô Jemat* 'Friday'; *lô Kamis* 'Thursday'

pulô 'island': *Pulô Ruje* 'Sumatra'; *Pulô Pinang* 'Penang Island (Malaysia)'

negeri 'nation': *Negeri Arap* 'Arabia'; *Negeri Acéh* 'Aceh'

lôt 'large body of water': *Lôt Acéh* 'The straits of Melaka (lit. the sea of Aceh)', *lôt Tawar* 'Lake Tawar'

Appendix F: Core vocabulary list

1.	sun	<i>mata ni lô</i> /mata ni lo/	33.	ear	<i>kemiring</i> /kəmirɪŋ/
2.	moon	<i>ulen</i> /ulən/	34.	mouth	<i>awah</i> /awah/
3.	star	<i>bintang</i> /bɪntaŋ/	35.	tooth	<i>ipon</i> /ɪpən/
4.	cloud	<i>emun</i> /əmun/	36.	tongue	<i>dèlah</i> /dəlah/
5.	wind	<i>kayu</i> /kujʊ/	37.	neck	<i>rongok</i> /rɒŋɔk/
6.	rain	<i>uren</i> /urən/	38.	hand	<i>pumu</i> /pumu/
7.	water	<i>uéh</i> /ueh/	39.	finger nail	<i>kukut</i> /kukʊt/
8.	mountain	<i>bur</i> /bʊr/	40.	belly	<i>tuke</i> /tukə/
9.	stone	<i>atu</i> /atʊ/	41.	foot	<i>kidɪŋ</i> /kɪdɪŋ/
10.	sand	<i>oné</i> /ɔne/	42.	knee	<i>uku</i> /uku/
11.	fire	<i>rara</i> /rara/	43.	skin	<i>kulit</i> /kulɪt/
12.	smoke	<i>asap</i> /asap/	44.	bone	<i>tulen</i> /tulən/
13.	ashes	<i>au</i> /aʊ/	45.	blood	<i>rayoh</i> /rajoh/
14.	night	<i>kelem</i> /kələm/	46.	heart	<i>jantung</i> /dʒantʊŋ/
15.	dog	<i>asu</i> /asu/	47.	liver	<i>até</i> /ate/
16.	bird	<i>manuk</i> /manʊk/	48.	breast	<i>susu</i> /susu/
17.	fish	<i>iken</i> /ɪkən/	49.	person	<i>jema</i> /dʒəma/
18.	snake	<i>lipé</i> /lɪpe/	50.	man	<i>rawan</i> /rawan/
19.	louse	<i>kutu</i> /kutʊ/	51.	woman	<i>banan</i> /banan/
20.	worm	<i>kètɔl</i> /ketɔl/	52.	salt	<i>poa</i> /pɔa/
21.	egg	<i>tʃenjaruh</i> /tənaruɦ/	53.	meat	<i>dengké</i> /dəŋke/
22.	horn	<i>tanuk</i> /tanʊk/	54.	road	<i>dené</i> /dəne/
23.	tail	<i>uki</i> /ʊki/	55.	year	<i>tôn</i> /tɒn/
24.	feather	<i>jangut</i> /dʒaŋʊt/	56.	name	<i>geral</i> /gəral/
25.	tree	<i>batang ni kayu</i> /batan ni kaju/	57.	see	<i>èngon</i> /eŋɔn/
26.	bark (N)	<i>kulit ni kayu</i> /kulɪt ni kaju/	58.	hear	<i>pengé</i> /pəŋe/
27.	root	<i>uyet</i> /ujət/	59.	eat (VI)	<i>mangan</i> /maŋan/
28.	leaf	<i>ulung</i> /ulʊŋ/	60.	drink	<i>inum</i> /ɪnum/
29.	head	<i>ulu</i> /ulʊ/	61.	bite	<i>két</i> /ket/
30.	hair	<i>wuk</i> /wʊk/	62.	speak	<i>cerak</i> /tʃərak/
31.	eye	<i>mata</i> /mata/	63.	stand	<i>sesuk</i> /səsʊk/
32.	nose	<i>iung</i> /ɪʊŋ/	64.	sit	<i>kunul</i> /kunʊl/
			65.	walk	<i>ralan</i> /ralan/
			66.	sleep	<i>emis</i> /əmis/
			67.	give	<i>osah</i> /ɔsah/

68.	burn	<i>siut</i> /siut/	90.	green	<i>ijô</i> /idzo/
69.	lie (down)	<i>nomé</i> /nɔme/	91.	full	<i>engkip</i> /əŋkɪp/
70.	kill	<i>unuh</i> /unuh/	92.	good	<i>jeroħ</i> /jəɾɔħ/
71.	know	<i>betih</i> /bətɪħ/	93.	fat (of meat)	<i>lemak</i> /ləmak/
72.	come	<i>gèh</i> /geh/	94.	dry	<i>kering</i> /kəɾɪŋ/
73.	die	<i>mate</i> /mate/	95.	new	<i>ayu</i> /aju/
74.	fly (v)	<i>terbang</i> /tərbaŋ/	96.	cold	<i>sejuk</i> /sədʒuk/
75.	swim	<i>awé</i> /awe/	97.	warm	<i>porak</i> /pɔrak/
76.	big	<i>kôl</i> /kol/	98.	one	<i>sara</i> /sarə/
77.	small	<i>kucak</i> /kutʃak/	99.	two	<i>roa</i> /rɔə/
78.	round	<i>bulat</i> /bulat/	100.	I	<i>aku</i> /aku/
79.	ong	<i>naru</i> /narɔ/	101.	thou	<i>ko</i> /kɔ/
80.	short	<i>konot</i> /kɔl/	102.	we (EXCL)	<i>kami</i> /kamɪ/
81.	thin	<i>tipis</i> /tɪpɪs/	103.	we (INCL)	<i>kite</i> /kɪtə/
82.	far	<i>gép</i> /gep/	104.	this	<i>ini</i> /ɪnɪ/
83.	near	<i>rap</i> /rap/	105.	that	<i>oya</i> /ɔja/
84.	many	<i>delé</i> /dəle/	106.	who	<i>sahan</i> /sahan/
85.	heavy	<i>beret</i> /bəɾət/	107.	what	<i>sanahan</i> /sanahan/
86.	red	<i>ilang</i> /ɪlaŋ/	108.	no	<i>enggéh</i> /əŋgeh/
87.	yellow	<i>kunéng</i> /kunenɲ/	109.	all	<i>bèwèn</i> /bewen/
88.	white	<i>putih</i> /putɪħ/	110.	earth	<i>tanoh</i> /tanɔħ/
89.	black	<i>item</i> /ɪtəm/			

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